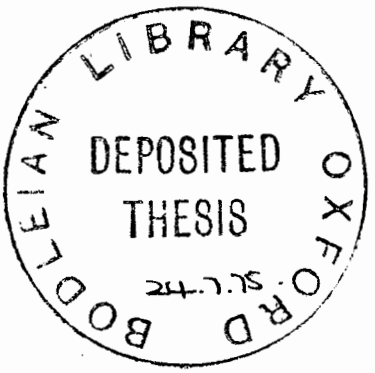
EARLY SPARTA c.950-650: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY

by P.A.CARTLEDGE New College

Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 1975



NOTES TO PART I

1. No trace of naïve "geographic determinism" should be read into this neutral formulation. On the one hand, as D. Forde, Habitat, Economy and Society (1934) 463 concludes: "Although the adaptation of culture, and particularly of crafts and economy to the habitat exists everywhere and is usually (in its outlines) obvious enough, the whole complex of the physical environment does not affect human activity in any single and comprehensive way". On the other hand, I agree with B. Farrington, Greek Science[2] (1969) 286, that the operative factor in the interaction between a society and its physical environment is the level of its social, political and economic technique. Cf. also n.130.

2. From Kalamata at the head of the Messenian gulf in the west to Alagonia in the north and Oitylos in the south. See also I.ii(a) and n.25.

3. ESAG, no.107 (nomes).

4. Bölte, RE,s.v. "Sparta" 1278ff. (hereafter RE).

5. E.g. Hdt. vi.58.2.; vii.234.2; Thuc. viii.6.2.

6. E. Rawson, The Spartan Tradition in European Thought (1969) (hereafter STET): usefully reviewed by O. Murray, CR n.s.xxi (1971) 231-3.

7. F. Ollier, Le Mirage Spartiate (1933 and 1943) (hereafter MS).

8. References in I.vi, Introduction.

9. BSA lii; lv; lvi; lxi. AJA lxv; lxviii; lxxiii.

10. A bibliography of Philippson's writings is published in E. Kirsten, Die griechische Polis als geographisch-historisches Problem des Mittelmeerraums (1956).

11. The so-called battle of the Champions (described in Hdt.i.82) was fought in the region of the plain of Astros. For further details, see I.vi.§ 8, s.v. "Astros" (no.78). Thuc.ii.27.2 and iv.56.2 (referring to 431 B.C.) show that the Spartans retained a firm hold on Thyreatis; cf.v.14.4 (421 B.C.), 41.2(419). It was snatched back by the Argives after the Battle of Leuktra in 371 (D.S.xv.64.2). For subsequent vicissitudes of ownership, see the works cited in n.15.

12. The most sensible discussion of this problem is by T. Kelly, American Historical Review lxxv (1970) 971-1003, esp. 977-9.

13. Principally Strabo (c. 61 B.C. - A.D. 14): G. Aujac, "Introduction" to the Budé ed.(1969) vii-xlvii; and Pausanias (middle of the second century A.D.): O. Regenbogen, RE Supp.viii (1956) 1008-1097.

14. R. Hope Simpson and H. Waterhouse, BSA lv (1960)69.

15. V. Ehrenberg, RE,s.v. "Sparta" 1411-12; Toynbee, SPGH 405-13.

16. Philippson, GL 412.

17. Polybios ix.33.12; other sources quoted by Ehrenberg, op.cit. 1418.

18. Ehrenberg 1439-40; Toynbee, SPGH 409-10.

19. Brandis, RE, s.v. "Eleutherolakones."

20. Sparta received favourable treatment from the Romans in other ways too: Strabo viii, p.365; Pliny, NH iv.5.16.

21. Pherai, Thouria and (?) Thalamai (a Spartan possession in the time of Hadrian: IG v.1.1314-5); cf.Chrimes, AS 56-7; Toynbee, SPGH 411-13.

22. W. Kolbe, AM xxix (1904) 364-78.

23. IG v.1.1431; cf.1371-2: Chrimes, AS 61-7.

24. P. A. Komnenos, Lakonika (1896) 35 noted letters carved into the living rock at Kryavrysi; if they are boundary-markers, they might be relevant to the northern frontier. They are omitted from IG v.2.

25. Mani or Maina comprises the Tainaron peninsula and its extension around the north-east corner of the Messenian gulf. Fermor, Mani gives an absorbing account of this strange area. For the sub-divisions of the Mani (Outer, Deep and Lower), see W. M. Leake, Travels in the Morea i(1830)261-3.

26. Platon v (1953) 147-158; cf. U. Kahrstedt, Rh. Mus. n.f. xciii (1950) 232-42.

27. Verhandlungen der 51.Versammlung der deutschen Philologen und Schulmänner (Posen, 1911) 73-75.

28. Geologische Karte (1892) Blatt iv, reproduced (but much reduced) as Philippson, GL fig.8.

29. "Grenzlandschaften", RE 1303-15: reviewed by H. T. Wade-Gery, CR xliv (1930) 14.

30. Philippson, GL 412; Toynbee, SPGH 495.

31. Its geographical and historical boundaries coincide: J. G. Frazer, Commentary on Pausanias (1898) iii.305 (hereafter Frazer).

32. See I.vi.§8, s.v. "Hermai" (no.73).

33. RE 1307.

34. See I.vi.§8, s.v. "Ancient Karyai" (no.72A).

35. RE 1308.

36. JHS xv (1895) 25-89, at 55-6.

37. See I.vi.§8, s.v. "Analipsis" (no.72). Pausanias (viii.54.1) stated that the River Alpheios marked the boundary between Sparta and Tegea - a statement whose truth has recently been upheld by Wade-Gery, Fest. V. Ehrenberg (1966) 297-8, 302, on the grounds that Pausanias was referring to the River of Analipsis, the uppermost course of the Sarandapotamos, which either did, or was believed to, form part of the great Alpheios. But see n.546.

38. In 182 B.C., after recourse to arbitration, it was decided that the Skiritis had belonged to Arkadia before the return of the Heraklidai: Dittenberger, Sylloge^3 665. But see G. L. Huxley, Early Sparta (1962) n.84 (hereafter ES). For the ancient routes, see Appendix I.B and ILL. I.2.

39. For further details, see I.iii.

40. See I.vi.§8, s.v. "Ancient Oion" (no.71).

41. See I.vi.§8, s.v. "Ancient Belmina" (no.70).

42. Polybios (ii.54.3) implies that it was near Belmina. Its chief settlement was Aigys, which Stephanos describes as a πόλις Λακωνική. According to Paus. iii.2.5, Aigys was destroyed by Kings Archelaos and Charillos (c.775-60: Forrest, HS 22) to prevent it falling into Arkadian hands. For a (bogus?) oracle concerning the fate of Aigys, see Parke-Wormell, DO^2 i.93-4 (ii, no.539).

43. Verhandlungen 74 (op.cit.in n.27).

44. We learn of Kromnos (or Kromoi), Malea and Leuktron, which should all be placed west of Leondarion: Andrewes in Gomme, HCT 34,73.

45. F. Jacoby, CQ xxxviii (1944) 15-16 gives the correct interpretation of the phrase χρηστοὺς ποιεῖν in the treaty between Sparta and Tegea of c. 550 (H. Bengtson, Staatsverträge ii (1962) no.112 for the sources; add Meiggs-Lewis, GHI no.2 to the bibliography).

46. The loyalty of the Skiritai appears to have been unshakable, for they occupied a place of honour in the Spartan army: see n.541. The ancient sources include Thuc.v.67.1; 68.3; Xen., HG v.2.24; D.S. xv.32.1; Anecdota Graecorum, ed.I.Bekker, i.305, 11.22-4. The most recent discussion of the controversial Skiritis lokhos is that of J. K. Anderson, Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon (1970) 249-251 .

47. A sketch map of Dentheliatis may be seen in RE, opposite 1303-4; Bölte 1312ff. cites in full the variant forms preserved in our sources. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the region was known as Opisthinachoria. After independence the villages were allocated to Kalamata and thereby to the nome of Messenia: Philippson, GL 444.

48. See n.25.

49. E.g. Tac., Ann.iv.43; see also Philippson, RE,s.v. "Denthalioi."

50. Verhandlungen 74, pace Valmin, Etudes 195, who identifies Dentheliatis with the whole of the Taygetos ridge south of Mt. Malevos as far as the River of Milia.

51. The best discussion is by S. Kougeas, Hellenika 1933, 269-70.

52. See Appendix I.J, s.v. "Kalamata - Oitylos".

53. See. I.vi.§7, s.v. "The Nedon Valley" (no.65); III.viii(b).

54. The technical terminology can be most easily grasped through Whitten-Brooks, DG. The latest regional maps issued by the Greek Statistical Service (1963; 1:200,000) have been accurately (and attractively) redrawn from aerial photographs and give a good idea of relief. I have also made profitable use of the air photographs in the British School at Athens.

55. The following abbreviated description of the morphological formation of Peloponnese is drawn mainly from AH iii.158-9; cf. Philippson, Peloponnes 450-5.

56. D. L. Linton - F. Moseley, "The Geological Ages", CAH^3 i.1 (1970) 1-34, 622 (bibliography). For the date, see F. W. Shotton, Quarterly Journal Geological Society of London cxxii (1966-7) 357-83, esp. 369-71.

57. For the main fracture lines, see AH i.9, fig. 6.

58. Moore, DG^4, s.v. "Marl".

59. The name was coined by O. Maull, Beiträge zur Morphologie des Peloponnes (1921) 26.

60. Moore, DG[4] and Whitten-Brooks, DG, s.v. "Tectonic"; cf. M.I. Newbigin, The Mediterranean Lands (1924) 25-6.

61. ESAG, no.108 (eparchies). As Philippson, GL 413, remarks, neither by nature nor by history does Kynouria belong to Arkadia!

62. The most recent discussion of ancient Kynouria (= Thyreatis), with references to modern works, is that of Ernst Meyer, Der Kleine Pauly iii (1969) s.v. "Kynouria". See also I.ii(b) and I.vi.§8(nos.78-9).

63. Philippson, Peloponnes 183-188, 608-10.

64. Whitten-Brooks, DG s.v.

65. Peloponnes, esp. 391-2, 607.

66. Moore DG[4] s.v. "Karst Region or Karstland"; Whitten-Brooks, DG s.v. "Karst Scenery"; cf. AH iii, pl. 72 (Leonidhion), which gives a good idea of the character of Kynouria as a whole.

67. 1928: 68 settlements (including monasteries), each with 453 inhabitants on average. Total population 30,906 in an area of 1550 sq. km. gives a low population density of about 20 per sq. km. (figures from Philippson, GL 488). In considering the distribution of population in modern Greece,I have preferred to use the 1928 census figures as a baseline and only occasionally compare the results of the 1961 census (1971 statistics were not available to me) for two reasons: first, because in 1928 traditional (i.e. very ancient) methods of procuring substance largely prevailed, and secondly because Greece was then still relatively untouched by the distorting effects of advanced technology and imperialist economic exploitation by foreign capital. For some comments on the 1961 census, see B. Kayser, Annales (ESC) xx (1965) 301-8; for the problems of interpreting census-returns in general, P. R. Cox, Demography[4] (1970) 33-43, esp. 35,39. OEAW[4] 64-70 are helpful maps.

68. See Appendix I.B, s.v. "Sparta - Tegea and Thyreatis".

69. T. Gritsopoulos, Peloponnesiaka vi (1963-8) 129 n.3. Philippson, Land und See der Griechen (1947) 32, points out that this coastline, being exposed to north-east winds, was not suited to ancient seafaring.

70. See the references in nn.11-12.

71. Only once is it called Parnon in the ancient sources, by Paus. ii.38.7: for some general remarks, see T. Arvanitis, Ta Vatika (1971) 101-8 (the then President of Neapolis gave me a copy of this panegyrical but useful book).

72. RE 1296; there is a pass at 1185 m., for example, from Vervaina to Doliana.

73. See Appendix II.A, s.v. "Marbles" (1).

74. E.g. at the Tsakonian village of Kastanitsa: Philippson, GL 472. The curiosity of the Tsakonians is that their dialect preserves elements of its ultimate Doric ancestor: see n.573.

75. RE 1296-7; GL 473ff.

76. Bölte is wrong to describe it as about 20 km. wide in the north.

77. GL 464-8. 1928: population 9,671; population density 32 per sq. km.

78. The inhabitants are compelled to rely on cistern-water, which is not plentiful, since west Parnon lies in the rainshadow of Taygetos: GL 479.

79. Their technical name is "Karstpolje": see Moore, DG[4] s.v. "Polje"; Whitten-Brooks, DG s.v. "Karst Scenery".

80. Geraki and Goritsa: see also I.vi.§3 (nos.20-1).

81. The decline in population may be due to migration (to e.g. Sparta or a large industrial centre such as Athens) or to emigration abroad. Disease is unlikely to be responsible. It should be noted that a map such as ESAG, no.205 conceals the distinctions between the Parnon foreland and the more fertile Eurotas furrow. On census figures, see the works cited in n.67.

82. GL 488ff.

83. E.g. the chain of villages near Neapolis: Mesokhori, Pharaklo, Paradision, Lakhi, Ay. Nikolaos and Vion. Between them they numbered 2,653 inhabitants in 1889; 2,303 in 1928; and 1,928 in 1961. The progressive decline can be largely accounted for by the corresponding growth of Neapolis (2,464 in 1961).

84. See last note. Rural Greece is contracting as more Greeks give up the struggle to extract a living from the soil. The process is most marked in the Aegean islands.

85. See Appendix II.B, s.v. "Iron".

86. See I.vi.§11 (no.106).

87. Pavlopetri (no.105).

88. For a convenient overview of this vexed question, see S. Jelgersma, "Sea-level changes during the last 10,000 Years" (1966) in J. A. Seers, ed., Introduction to Coastline Development (1971) 25-48. For the archaeological implications, see F. P. Shepard, Science cxliii (1964) 574ff.; D. J. Blackman, AR 1970-1, 35-6. For the locus classicus (temple of Jupiter Serapis at Pozzuoli), see C. Lyell, Principles of Geology ii[12] (1875) 164ff., esp. 170-5. Note now the results of largescale underwater surveying in the South Aegean: N. C. Flemming - N.M.G. Czartoryska - P. M. Hunter, Colston Papers xxiii (1973) 1-63, esp. 58,62.

89. A. G. Galanopoulos, Peloponnesiaki Protochronia 1964, 49-53, has collected the more recent evidence of seismic activity in Peloponnese. See also Appendix III.

90. See I.vi.§10, s.v. "Ancient Asopos" (no.98).

91. It belonged formerly to the nome of Argolis.

92. Philippson, GL 512-4.

93. See I.vi.§11 (no.108).

94. For the sake of simplicity I follow Philippson (GL 446ff.) instead of Bölte. The latter, for example, further subdivides my northern section into three: i. Kumarokambos; ii. Agrapidokambos; iii. The area around Georgitsi.

95. But see n.81.

96. The basin is easily distinguished on GL, fig.8.

97. Cf. the position of Neapolis: nn.81,82.

98. See Appendix I.E, s.v. "Sparta - Helos" for traces of an ancient route.

99. GL 461ff.

100. For ancient Marios, whose name the Mariorhevma preserves, see I.vi.§9, s.v. (no.87).

101. Apart from grain-crops, cotton and rice, imports from the New World, have been grown successfully since 1933: E. Fels, Landgewinnung in Griechenland (1949) 74;cf. I.v and nn.213,221-2. For malaria generally, F. Braudel, The Mediterranean i (1972) 63-6.

102. GL 463.

103. For a detailed discussion, with maps, of the demographic data, see ESAG, no.204.

104. The most detailed treatment is by Bölte, RE, s.v. "Taygetos". In antiquity the name applied to the whole range as far as Cape Matapan; today it applies only as far as the Karyoupolis/ Areopolis divide.

105. Fermor, Mani 68; cf. S. Myrivilis, Peloponnesiaki Protochronia 1962, 12ff., who describes it as "the masculine mountain".

106. AH iii. 159.

107. GL 419-425; the simplest and clearest exposition is that in AH iii. 199-200.

108. The Nedon flows south-westwards in a great gorge to Kalamata; the Xerillos drains northwards into the Alpheios; the watershed is formed by a belt of Olonos limestone, which runs at 500-600 m. eastwards from the foot of Mt. Hellenitsa to the vicinity of Petrina. See 1:100,000 Map of Greece (1944) sheet L6.

109. GL 425. In 1928 the Nedon valley, with 6 settlements, had a population of 3,084, its largest village, Alagonia, numbering 941 (1961: 645). The Xerillos valley, together with the upper reaches of the stream of Poliani, had 16 settlements and a population of 4,279 in 1928.

110. GL 425-433.

111. Chrimes, AS 79-80.

112. Cf. F.A.O.(U.N.), Mediterranean Development Project (Rome,1959) 192.

113. The marble is of various hues: black, blue-and-white, red and green mica-marble.

114. GL 433-7.

115. GL 437-446.

116. GL 438.

117. See I. vi.§6, s.v. "Porto Kayio and Marmari Bay" (no.50A)

118. GL 436.

119. AH iii. 200.

120. Moore, DG[4] and Whitten-Brooks, DG s.v. "Weathering".

121. Peloponnes 218; cf.n.116.

122. Peloponnes 227n.1; see also I. vi.§6, s.v. "Ancient Messe/ Messa" (no.52).

123. Philippson, Klima is the standard work, but see the review by S. Lauffer, Gnomon xxii (1950) 107-11, with many supplements and some corrections. A useful companion is A. Livathinos - E. G. Mariolopoulos, Atlas Climatique de la Grèce (1935).

124. Vitruvius (i.1.10) renders klima as inclinatio caeli, which F. Granger in the Loeb edition rightly interprets to mean geographical location; cf. D.R. Dicks, Early Greek Astronomy to Aristotle (1970) n.354. But the term probably also reflects the Greeks' sense of height of sun and length of daylight.

125. LSJ[9], s.v.

126. Ibid., s.v. "ὥρα A. I. 4."

127. Dicks, op.cit. 9-10; on Anaximander's supposed gnomon for marking solstices and equinoxes (Diels-Kranz 12 A 1), see ibid., JHS lxxxvi (1966) 26-40, esp. 33n.35.

128. Greece has been somewhat backward; the processed data for Sparta were compiled between 1900 and 1929 with inadequate instruments. In these circumstances we should be grateful that the Spartan meteorological station was able to record both temperature and rainfall; cf. Philippson, Klima 81.

129. Philippson, Land und See der Griechen (1947) 13. "Relief" is used here in its wider sense of "land-forms": cf. Newbigin, Mediterranean Lands 20.

130. Climate "determines" only in the sense that certain crops will not grow in certain climates; cf. Prof. G. Clark in his Foreword to D. Brothwell-E. Higgs, edd., Science in Archaeology[2] (1969) 20: "environment certainly does not determine, but it does impose limits to the possibilities open to people at any particular stage of culture; and by the same token the stage of cultural development can itself be measured, at least in economic terms, by the use made of the environment". See also n.1.

131. See in particular D. L. Page, ed., Medea (1952) 131-2 (n.on 11. 826-7), who cites a good selection of the ancient sources.

132. Klima 197-233 ("Climate and Man") is devoted to this question. Xenophon, Oeconomica iv.2.3. pours scorn on craftsmen because they work indoors; and he is clearly thinking of Sparta when he says that some states make it unlawful for citizens to work at "banausic" arts: on this, see further Burford, CGRS Index, s.v. "banausia complex", "banausoi", esp. n.334.

133. The notable exception is Kalamata, which lies on the rainier, western side of Greece. As we shall see, rainfall-distribution is one of the essential features of the Mediterranean climate.

134. Discontinuity in Greek Civilisation (1966) (hereafter DGC) : reviewed favourably by J. Boardman, CR n.s.xvii (1967) 338-9; more sceptically by V. Desborough, Mosaic i (July,1968) 111-4.

135. Semple, Geography 99-101, gives a list of authorities on either side; cf. H.H. Lamb, "Climate, vegetation and forest limits in early civilized times" in F. R. Hodson, ed., The Place of Astronomy in the Ancient World (1974) 195-230. The essential distinction to keep in mind is that between fluctuations, which are regular (see n.137), and changes, which are not.

136. For a provisional analysis of Greek pollen samples, see H. E. Wright, Jr., Antiquity xlii (1968) 123-7. He writes on p. 126: "It may be a fair conclusion from the pollen studies in Greece that no vegetational changes may be attributed with any certainty to climatic change". But see II.n.367. Deep-sea cores may one day yield certain information: meanwhile see C. Emiliani in Brothwell-Higgs, op.cit. (n.130) ch.9.

137. See e.g. S. A. Schumm in R. J. Chorley, ed., Water, Earth and Man (1969) 525-34; C. Vita-Finzi, The Mediterranean Valleys (1969) chs. 8,12,13.

138. An excellent discussion of the false assumptions which have led scholars to exaggerate the cultural gap between ancient and modern Greece may be found in Klima 159-168. Philippson's conclusion is that there has been no climatic change in historical times.

139. There is a nice Greek aetiological tale (retold in A. W. Gomme, Greece (Oxford 1945) 11) that, when God made the world, he put all the earth through a sieve. The good earth he distributed to form various countries; the stones he threw over his shoulder - and that was Greece!

140. Esp. Hdt. vii.102.1.

141. Euripides, fr.1083 (Nauck).

142. No one attempts to explain the cultural and economic decline of Hellenistic mainland Greece in climatic terms, so far as I know.

143. Neumann-Partsch, PGG 81ff., give the ancient evidence; note esp. Pindar, Ol.i.1: "water is best".

144. See most recently R. and E. Blum, The Dangerous Hour (1970) esp. 137-8; although obtained from the Marathon area, their findings have a wider import. The standard work is that of J. C. Lawson, Ancient Greek Folklore and Modern Greek Religion (1910): see Index s.v. "Water".

145. Klima 10, 168. The climatic tables based on recordings for 1900-1929 may be found in AH i, App.9.

146. Klima 35-6; cf. the remarks of Raikes, op.cit. (n.135) 70-1.

147. The official height (193m.) is about 10m. too low.

148. From - 5.5° to 43° = 48.5°.

149. Climates 16-7. He describes in detail, on pp. 39ff., how he would set about making a climatic classification and on p.36 attacks attempts to base a classification on figures like those used by Philippson!

150. The 0800 and 1400 hours readings are perhaps not far off the daily minimum and maximum figures, but they are far enough astray to ensure distortion.

151. Peloponnes 586-7.

152. This is the major flaw of the map in Klima 83, which is besides unclear. See rather ESAG,nos.103-4; J. H. Huttary, Meteorologische Rundschau iii (1950) 111-119; and the works cited in n.137.

153. If the rain falls in the form of a short sharp downpour, it is unlikely to penetrate the surface and do lasting good; it may even result in harmful flooding: see Appendix IV n.7. The intensity of rainfall (the amount of rain that falls in a rainday) can give some indication of the nature of a given rainfall.

154. E. G. Mariolopoulos, The Climate of Greece (1938) 222 (Table).

155. Loc.cit. (more than one-quarter of the total for that year). The average annual rainfall of Sparta is 816.6mm.

156. This gives an intensity of rainfall (see n.153) of about 9.5 mm. per rainday.

157. Climatology^2(1957) 377, cf.225.

158. In fact 28.2mm., compared with 12.5 at Gythion and 14.9 at Leonidhion.

159. Klima 113 (also true of Gythion and Kythera). Plague often follows severe drought and this may account for the instance at Sparta in the seventh century recorded by Pratinas (fr.8B), quoted by E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (1951) 163 n.41. (Page, PMG 369 reads λιμοῦ instead of λοιμοῦ - wrongly, if he is merely reproducing F. Lasserre, Plutarque. De La Musique (1954) 131, whose edition he cites).

160. Klima 140 describes the process whereby rain is formed by the action of air and sun on mountains, except under anticyclonic conditions; see also n.163.

161. Klima 11, a somewhat paradoxical remark, since he has very little to say elsewhere about atmospheric pressure: see rather K. W. Butzer, Meteorologische Rundschau xiii (1960) 97-105. Furthermore, only 12 stations in Greece had anemometers: A. Livathinos - E. G. Mariolopoulos, Atlas Climatique de la Grèce (1935) Intro.§6 and pls.106-7; Sparta apparently was not one of the 12. Aristotle, Meteor. 363^b 11ff., knew of 12 different named winds, indicating the importance attached to this factor by the ancient Greeks.

162. Argolis i. Landeskunde der Ebene von Argos und ihrer Randgebiete (1937) 32-8.

163. Klima 11, 80, 114. The drought corresponds to the period of anticyclonic influence.

164. Moore, DG^4, s.v. "Etesian winds or Meltemi"; cf. BSA lxiv (1969) 113, where the Meltemi is reported to have hindered the underwater "excavation" at Pavlopetri (I.vi.§11, no.105).

165. Lehmann, op.cit.37; Philippson, Peloponnes 461ff.

166. Klima 149.

167. Klima 117.

168. Philippson, Peloponnes 192.

169. Mariolopoulos, op.cit. (n.154) 294 (Table).

170. Moore, DG^4 s.v. "Hail"; for greater detail, see F. H. Ludlam, Weather xvi (1961) 152ff.

171. Klima 121 (Table).

172. Richter-Milne, SNAV 12-13 (psykter): for the mixing of wine with snow, see Strattis fr.57 Kock. In a more recent Mediterranean context Saladin had snow specially brought to him on campaign.

173. Data for Taygetos and Parnon are given in Klima 129.

174. For the effect of melted snow on river-régimes, see the works cited in n.137.

175. Klima 123.

176. Below-freezing temperatures also make heavier clothing and more solid food desirable.

177. Table in Mariolopoulos, op.cit. 87. Tripolis has nearly six times as many frost-days per thousand: 233.

178. Klima 135.

179. See Peloponnes 192 for freezing fog in Kynouria. On the credit side, however, there is also some "fog-drip" from trees, especially evergreens, on mountains.

180. Klima 140, 149, 156.

181. Neumann-Partsch, PGG 37ff. The blue coloration is due to the dryness of the air.

182. It is possible that these factors may have some relation to visual sensitivity.

183. AH i, App.9, table 11: Sparta has on average 329 hours in June, 387 in July and 364 in August.

184. Another candidate for the role of character-moulder: J. Hann, Handbuch der Klimatologie i^2 (1897) 63-4.

185. Klima 63, 155, 191; AH i, App.9, table 10.

186. Klima 134-5. For "fog-drip" from trees, see n.179.

187. E.g. RE, s.v. "Hersos".

188. For further east Mediterranean parallels, see Semple, Geography 91.

189. Philippson, GL 415.

190. Klima 191.

191. Varro, RR i.1.7-9 lists some 50 Greek authors who had written on agriculture, or whose works are concerned in some way with related topics. We should suppose, since most of these writers were of a philosophical turn of mind, that these works were more akin to the Oeconomica of Xenophon than to a scientific treatise on agronomy.

192. See RE Supp.vii, s.v. "Theophrastos, Pflanzschriften" 1435ff. His two major works - Historia Plantarum (HP) and De Causis Plantarum (CP) - laid the foundations of systematic botany, having especial value for the development of arboriculture and soil science.

193. Cf. A. Jardé, Les Céréales dans l'Antiquité Grecque (1925) 109. For a recent attempt at this sort of hypothetical construction for Bronze Age Messenian land-use, see H. J. van Wersch in McDonald-Rapp, MME ch.11.

194. Medieval improvements in agricultural technology are considered by L. White, Jr., Speculum xv (1940) 141-59; ibid. in C. M. Cipolla, ed., Fontana Economic History of Europe i (1972) ch.4. But local conditions do not of course always favour the swift acceptance of superior technology: for example, the revolutionary plough recently invented in France (Sunday Times 10 June, 1973) would only be utilisable in deep-soiled areas like Thessaly. As in most spheres the greatest changes have occurred in this century, thanks partly to government intervention (AH ii.50ff.) and partly to the ever-accelerating absorption of Greece into the orbit of international finance capitalism since the last war. Ancient Greek methods of ploughing, reaping and threshing are discussed in Daremberg-Saglio s.v. "Aratrum", "Falx" and "Vannus"; the requisite implements by W. Schiering in Richter, LHZ 147-58; and technological improvements in the Greco-Roman world by L. Moritz, Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity (1958) (hereafter GMFCA).

195. See especially T. P. Howe, TAPA lxxxix (1958) 44-65; Richter, LHZ 5n.10. For the total separation in Greece today of stock- from arable-farming, see J. L. Myres, The Greek Lands and the Greek People (Oxford Inaugural, 1910) 26. The evidence of the Linear B tablets - such as it is: see II.v(b) - seems to indicate important differences of regional specialisation: Chadwick, DLB^2 152.

196. Other limiting factors are saline accumulations, thin and stony soils, flood-transported detritus, poor natural drainage and susceptibility to flooding. See further Appendix IV.

197. ESAG, no.301. In 1928 only 12% was classed as arable; of ploughed land 22% was devoted to cereal crops (figures from M. I. Newbigin, Southern Europe (1932) 407ff.).

198. A book on Greek land-use is needed, along the lines laid down by K. D. White in his Agricultural Implements of the Roman World (1967) and Roman Farming (1970). See now Fustel de Coulanges, Etude sur la Propriété à Sparte (1880); and A. Jardé, op.cit. 109ff., who makes an attempt to calculate the amount of land owned by the Spartans and its probable yield in terms of cereal crops.

199. White, RF 178-189 gives a good discussion of the various processes involved in growing cereal crops in Italy. For the importance of wheat there in antiquity, see RF 398; and cf. his "Wheat-farming in Roman times", Antiquity xxxvii (1963) 207-12. There are obvious resemblances between the Greek and Italian régimes.

200. Moritz, GMFCA xviii-xx is a most interesting discussion of the probable reasons for this state of affairs; cf. OEAW 12.

201. ESAG, no.303.

202. Moritz, GMFCA xxi, 162; ibid., CQ n.s. v (1955) 135-41, at 136-8. However, Richter, LHZ 109,114-5 supposes (wrongly, I believe) wheat to have been dominant in the Dark Age.

203. In Greece wheat is always winter-sown: N. Jasny, The Wheats of Classical Antiquity (1944) 73. For the relation between climate and the agricultural cycle in Greece, as in Italy, see White, RF 173ff.

204. Papadakis, Climates 108. But, as Moritz, GMFCA xviii points out, tastes for types of food are at least partly irrational. The Spartans may well have preferred barley to wheat, especially if they did not have to hull it themselves! Yet we learn from Xen., Lak. Pol. v.3, that by the early fourth century B.C. the plousioi were contributing wheaten-bread to the syssitia: cf. Toynbee, SPGH 312.

205. For the type of barley, see Moritz, CQ cit. 129-34.

206. In 1961 barley occupied c. 5% of the total cultivated area: ESAG, no.304.

207. According to Plutarch, Lyk.xii.2,the Spartan was required to contribute a medimnos of barley per month; for contributions in wheat, see n.204. In Homer, Odyssey xx.108 barley is described as "The marrow of men": certainly it was good enough for Spartan royalty in Herodotus' day (vi.57.2). But see next note.

208. This is the meaning of Greek maza. Hipponax fr.26 West (ap. Athenaios vii. 304B) describes bread made from barley as "fodder for slaves".

209. V. Kremmydis, Hellenika xxii (1969) 389-398; ESAG, no.305; Papadakis, Climates 104-5; OEAW 10.

210. Moritz, GMFCA xx; ESAG, no.306; Papadakis, Climates 108-9.

211. Moritz, GMFCA xx-i; ESAG, no.307; White, RF 137-8, 213-4.

212. Moritz, GMFCA xx; ESAG, no.307; Papadakis, Climates 105.

213. Moritz, loc.cit. with n.1 (medicinal use); ESAG, no.307; Papadakis, Climates 104; OEAW 11. Rice requires irrigation and level land: see n.101.

214. Moritz, GMFCA xxi; ESAG, no.307; Papadakis, Climates 105.

215. For fodder crops grown in 1961, see ESAG, no.310. They occupied between 14 and 17% of the total cultivated area of Kynouria and the Malea peninsula. For the Roman evidence, see White, RF 202ff.

216. Papadakis, Climates 109. The white lupine is said to be the staple diet of the Maniotes in Philippson, GL 439; for Roman parallels, see White RF 216-7.

217. In Lakonian dialect, saamon: IG v.1.364,9 (Mistra). Useful references are collected in LSJ^{9}, s.v. "σήσαμον."

218. ESAG, no.309 gives a comprehensive list. Theophrastos (CP vii. 4.5) names "Lakonian" as one of the four varieties of lettuce.

219. Philippson, Peloponnes 213 and n.1. is full of praise for the Spartan gherkin! Theophrastos (CP vii.4.6) points out that the "Lakonian" variety of cucumber benefits from irrigation.

220. Papadakis, Climates 115.

221. ESAG, no.312; OEAW 31-2.

222. The statement in BSA lv (1960) 67 n.5 is, as it stands, misleading. Cotton was unknown in antiquity, as indeed were the oranges which thrive in the Spartan plain.

223. Chadwick DLB^{2} 152; Richter, LHZ 117-8.

224. In both authors the linseed is coupled with poppyseed.

225. For further information on flax, see OEAW 30.

226. ESAG, no.313; cf. F. N. Howes, Nuts, the Production and Everyday Uses (1948).

227. Gomme, op.cit. (n.149) 15.

228. Aristophanes (fr.108 Kock) typically explains the small size of the Lakonian fig-tree in political terms; but V. Ehrenberg The People of Aristophanes[3] (1962) 138 takes "Lakonian" to refer to the species not the place of origin. Theophrastos (HP ii.7.1.) says that the fruit of the Lakonian fig is improved by irrigation. Pliny (NH xvi.49.113) speaks of two harvests of figs. White, RF 262, App. A presents in tabular form the number of varieties of fig (and other fruits) known to Roman authors from Cato the Elder to Macrobius; cf. his good discussion of the fig (pp.228-9).

229. Papadakis, Climates 112. The Romans called the almond the "Greek nut": for an illustration of its popularity, see M. L. Katzev in G. F. Bass, ed., A History of Seafaring (1972) 50 and colour pl.30 (almost 10,000 found in a fourth-century B.C. wreck off Kyrenia in Cyprus). See also n.552.

230. Op.cit. 111.

231. Loc.cit. See n.235 below.

232. In the medieval period Peloponnese was named Morea in its honour: A. Bon, La Péloponnèse Byzantine jusqu'en 1204 (1951) 158-9; La Morée Franque i(1969) 306-14.

233. P. Brown, The World of Late Antiquity (1971) 162 indicates the context.

234. ESAG, no.317; Papadakis, Climates 103. In general, see S. Tolkowsky, Hesperides. A History of the Culture and Use of Citrus Fruits (1958); more briefly, with excellent watercolour drawings, Oxford Book of Food Plants (1969) 84-9.

235. For the cherry and the peach, see White, RF 498 n.82.

236. The xerophytes (vine, olive and fig) remain of primary importance; cf. Theophrastos, HP ii.5.7.

237. ESAG, no.315; cf. White, RF 229-46 for comparative Italian evidence.

238. Renfrew, EC 280-8. The olive had reached Greece by the Mesolithic period (evidence from the Franchthi cave).

239. See n.183 for insolation at Sparta.

240. Newbigin, The Mediterranean Lands 55. Only in the Helos plain north-east of Gythion have I seen Lakonians who could certainly not be described as gardeners.

241. White, RF 229: "Vines ... require a greater degree of tendance and control of the environment than any other Mediterranean crop".

242. See in general Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Vinum"; for ancient Lakonian wines c.600, see Alkman fr.92 Page. The wine trade is discussed and illustrated by V. R. Grace, Amphoras and the ancient Wine Trade (1961).

243. Blue Guide[1] (E. Benn, 1967) 270.

244. The madness of King Kleomenes I of Sparta (reigned c. 520-490) was attributed by some to his custom, supposedly acquired from the Scythians, of drinking his wine neat: Hdt. vi.84.3; cf. Plato, Laws i.637DE.

245. C. T. Seltman, Wine in the Ancient World (1957) 91.

246. Homer, Odyssey ix.208ff. - a wine of Thracian origin; cf. Richter, LHZ 127-33 (Homeric wines in general).

247. Plutarch, Lyk. xii.2. A chous is about 5.75 to 6 pints (on the Attic standard, which presumably Plutarch used); in other words, each Spartan provided, and no doubt drank, about 1.5 pints a day.

248. ESAG, no.316 is extremely detailed and very valuable; cf. White, RF 225ff.; Richter, LHZ 137-40. M. Grant, The Ancient Mediterranean (1969) I11.37 shows an olive grove near Sparta.

249. The eparchy of Gythion came ninth with 9.58%, the eparchy of Lakedaimon nineteenth with 6.78%. The Greek (and Italian) practice of cultura promiscua of olive trees among cereal or forage crops should be kept in mind when evaluating these statistics: see especially White, RF pl.11.

250. In 1961, 95% of trees yielded olives for crushing. Even today olive oil is to a large extent used as a substitute for butter. For ancient (mainly Roman) methods of producing oil, see A. G. Drachmann, Ancient Oil Mills and Presses (1932).

251. H. E. Wright, Jr., Antiquity xlii (1968) 123ff., esp.126; ibid. in McDonald-Rapp, MME 195-6.

252. Philippson, GL 467.

253. For ancient ideas on the relations between soil, location, climate and tree-growth, see O. Makkonnen, "Ancient Forestry, Part 1", Acta Forestalia Fennica lxxxii (1967) 39ff.; on pp.59-63 he appends a comprehensive list of tree-species mentioned by Greek authors. In Part 2 (1969) Makkonnen considers the procurement of and trade in forest-products in antiquity, but his treatment is sketchy and inadequate: see the review by R. Meiggs, CR n.s.xxi (1971) 446-8. Meiggs is preparing a book on ancient Greek forestry, which will place the matter on a more solid foundation.

254. Paus. iii.10.6 (north Parnon: the oak line now lies further west - Philippson, Peloponnes 530; but cf. K. Rhomaios, Peloponnesiaka iii-iv (1958-9) 377);ibid. iii.20.4 (east-central Taygetos: Leake, Morea i.128, 251, found forests of fir and Valonia oak here at the beginning of the nineteenth century). For the number of trees of various species growing in Lakonia in 1930, see GL 508 (Table). On deforestation in general in the Mediterranean, see H. von Trotta-Treyden, Petermann's Mitteilungen lxii (1916) 248-53, 286-92.

255. Newbigin, The Mediterranean Lands 44. It should be noted that tall trees need more water, both because they are more exposed to drying winds and because they have more leaves than bushes.

256. Peloponnes 530. The trees grow in "open order" and so grazing amongst them is possible.

257. See Fermor, Mani 8,for the modern leather industry of Anavryti high in east Taygetos. Lakonian hides are mentioned in the Price Edict of Diocletian: cf. Chrimes, AS 77-8. For tanning by traditional methods in Devon, see J. E. Manners, Country Life (Jan.6,1972) 48-9, figs.1-4.

258. GL 421.

259. Peloponnes 180, 193, 200-1, 219, 243, 245.

260. Peloponnes 531.

261. Peloponnes 528-9.

262. GL 435. It is mostly fir which makes up the tree-line (on Taygetos between c.1950 and 1700m.): Klima 138.

263. GL 479.

264. Peloponnes 529.

265. Peloponnes 531. Along watercourses they keep company with poplars, willows, oleanders and terebinths at the appropriate altitudes.

266. AH i, fig.68 (after W. B. Turrill, The Plant Life of the Balkan Peninsula (1929)).

267. AH i, App.7, p.474.

268. Peloponnes 532ff.; it reaches a height of 5-6m. in places.

269. The prickly pear, in origin Mexican, was introduced by the Venetians; it has captured much of the Mani.

270. "Shiblyak" is a Serbian word.

271. A. E. Zimmern, The Greek Commonwealth^{5} (1931) 47 points the contrast.

272. This is a common practice: for the Roman case, see White, RF 310.

273. The inverted commas are used also by Philippson, Peloponnes 535.

274. ESAG, no.319.

275. Zimmern, op.cit. 47 n.2. There are fine specimens outside the Frankish-Byzantine Palace at Mistra.

276. Moore,DG^{4} s.v. "Transhumance"; White, RF, Index, s.v., esp. 306-8; Braudel, op.cit. (n.101) 85-7.

277. Peloponnes 194. Vervaina, for example, is exclusively a village of shepherds: op.cit. 197.

278. Cf. White, RF ch.10 (Animal Husbandry).

279. Finley, WO^{2} 69; Richter, LHZ 33-80. For Mycenaean practice, see also n.195.

280. ESAG, nos. 320-3.

281. S. Kougeas, Hellenika 1933, 269-70. The boar was a favourite subject of sixth-century Lakonian art: see e.g. Stibbe, LVSJ ii, pl.78.1; AO pl.70.48-9; W. Lamb, BSA xxviii (1926-7) 94, fig.6; Chr. Christou, AD xix.1 (1964) pl.88. On hunting generally, see the references in III.n.597.

282. For horses (and other transport-animals) in ancient Greece, see J. K. Anderson, Ancient Greek Horsemanship (1961): reviewed by S. Benton, JHS lxxxiii (1963) 206. According to (Plato) (Alc. i.122C-123B), there were large numbers of horses and other domestic animals at the Spartans' disposal; cf.Xen., Lak. Pol. vi.3-4 for Spartan communalism in horses and dogs for hunting.

283. The plate facing Fermor, Mani 17 speaks for itself.

284. D. B. Hull, Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece (1964) esp. 31-34; R. H. A. Merlen, De Canibus: Dog and Hound in Antiquity (1971) 28ff., esp.30-1,39-40,44. For representations of the Lakonian hound, see B. Freyer-Schauenberg, AK xiii (1970) 95-9, pls.45,46.1-2.

285. RE, s.v. "Huhn"; W. Richter, Der Kleine Pauly ii (1967) s.v. "Huhn (Hahn)". A hen is depicted on the well-known Chrysapha relief, dated c. 550 B.C. by M. Andronikos, Peloponnesiaka i (1956) 253ff. (Chrysapha is I.vi.§3, no.19).

286. Richter, LHZ 84-7; Brothwells, FIA 73-80. See also III.n.543.

287. According to Xenophon (Mem. ii.1.3-4), quails are trapped by their uncontrollable sexual ardour!

288. Peloponnes 557.

289. Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Cibaria" 1262(B)ff.; RE, s.v. "Ichthys" 847-8; W. Radcliffe, Fishing from the Earliest Times[2] (1926) chs.1-7,11; add now Buchholz-Jöhrens-Maull, op.cit. (III.n.597).

290. For a late seventh-century B.C. fishing scene, see E-L.I. Marangou, Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien (1969) no.38 (hereafter Marangou, LEB). AO 195, pl.74.69 and the two delightful Lakonian II fish cups (Lane, LVP pl.30) also indicate an interest in the sea about the same time; cf.also the maritime references in Alkman (c.600) collected by Huxley, ES n.124. The coincidence of date has perhaps a wider significance.

291. For the ancient sources, see Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Purpura"; Burford, CGRS 191 cites an ancient explanation of the discovery, which, though false, might appeal to a certain school of modern thought on the invention of pottery-making and other processes. The technical details are clearly described and illustrated by J. P. Robinson, Jr., "Tyrian Purple", Sea Frontiers xvii.2 (March-April 1971) 76-82. For an interesting function of the dye, see M. Reinhold, History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity (1970) esp. 16-7 and 22ff.

292. GL 514; ILN 27/8/66 (Archaeological Section 2251); Huxley-Coldstream, Kythera 36 and n.4 (with further bibliography).

293. de Ste.Croix, OPW 284-6 makes several important points about ancient Greek harbours and their uses; cf.op.cit. 393-6 for the historically decisive differentiation between merchantmen and warships. For the construction of ships in our period, see L. Casson, Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World (1971) chs.4-5; K. de Vries, "Greek, Etruscan and Phoenician ships and shipping" in Bass, op.cit. (n.229) 38-49. For the Bronze Age in particular, see II.n.373.

294. GL 414.

295. See Appendix I.C, s.v. "Routes over Parnon".

296. T. Arvanitis, Ta Vatika (1971) 67-83.

297. It derives its name from the fact that it can be approached by land from one direction only. For the anchorage, see Mediterranean Pilot iv (7th ed., 1941) 76 (hereafter Med P iv^7).

298. See I.vi.§10, s.v. (no.90).

299. See I.vi.§9, s.v. "Ancient Zarax" (no.89).

300. But see Toynbee, SPGH 498 (journey on foot from Ieraka to Helos Plain).

301. See I.vi.§9, s.v. (no.88).

302. GL 486.

303. Pictured in AH iii, pl.72.

304. Med P iv^7.78.

305. AH i.55ff., with figs.27, 43.

306. Med P iv^7.68.

307. Loc.cit.

308. Med P iv^7.64; cf.I.vi.§10, s.v. "Ancient Asopos" (no.98).

309. An excellent description of silting, a common occurrence at the mouths of Mediterranean rivers, is given by Semple, Geography 119; see now W. G. East, The Destruction of Cities in the Mediterranean Lands (1971) 6-7; cf. Semple 102,104 on the size of Mediterranean rivers. If Ayios Stephanos is Homeric Helos (see I.vi.§4, s.v. "Ayios Stephanos" (no.33)), then the coast-line has encroached some 5 km. in the last 3,000 years.

310. Med P iv^7.61; AH ii, pl.82. Cf. I.vi.§5, s.v. "Ancient Gythion" (no.43).

311. Med P iv^7.59;57 (squalls). This is presumably the harbour described by Thucydides (viii.91.2; cf.92.3) as ἐπὶ Λᾶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς, which served as a muster-station for a fleet in 411.

312. Med P iv^7.58-9; AH i,pl.46. Cf.I.vi.§6, s.v. "Porto Kayio and Marmari Bay" (no.50A).

313. Admiralty Chart, no.1685. See also I.vi.§6, s.v. "Ancient Tainaron" (no.50).

314. GL 504.

315. See also I.vi.§6, s.v. "Ancient Messe/Messa" (no.52).

316. See below for the artificially improved harbour of Kalamata; also I.vi.§7 (no.62).

317. Med P iii (6thed., 1929) 31-2 (hereafter Med P iii^6).

318. AH i,pl.45.

319. Kardamyle acquired importance as a port in the Roman period, when Gythion no longer belonged to Sparta: Chrimes, AS 58ff. See also I.vi.§7, s.v. (no.57).

320. Med P iii^6. 30.

321. "Prehistoric" is taken to describe everything up to and including the Mycenaean period.

322. Gazetteer, no.94. Mycenaean gems in the "Geometric" deposit of Artemis Orthia: AO 378ff.; cf. J. Boardman, Island Gems (JHS Supp. X, 1963) 92-5, esp. 95, and 145-153, esp.153. Scarabs in the "Geometric" deposit: see III.vii(c).

323. K. Syriopoulos, Hē Proistoria tes Peloponnesou (1964) 34 summarises the evidence and finds it hard to believe there was a Late Helladic settlement.

324. E. Kirsten, op.cit. (n.10) 103ff.; cf. E. Blumenthal, Die altgriechische Siedlungskolonisation (Diss. Tübingen, 1963) 7-15.

325. At the earliest from c.950: see II.iii(d).

326. Some PG was found in the sanctuary, but the construction of the first stone altar, with peribolos wall and cella temple, should be no earlier than c. 700 B.C., which is compatible with the beginning of the rich series of votives: see further Appendix X, and III.ii and iii.

327. See Gomme, HCT i.100, n. ad i. 5.1, where he points out the important distinction between polis = political community and polis = permanent (and usually walled) centre of administration; cf. Kirsten, loc.cit.

328. BSA xii.284-8 (Wace) and 435-9 (Dickins); BSA xiii. 5-16 (Wace), with pl.1; J. G. Frazer-A. W. van Buren, Graecia Antiqua (1930), no.35 (map). For the discovery of a portion of possibly the oldest wall, see K. Demakopoulou , AD xxi.2 (1966) 154-5.

329. BSA xiii. 17-43, at 17-27,42 (Wace).

330. Plut., Mor.210E(29); Lyk.xix.4.Plato, Laws vi.778D-779A erected what was at least partly a question of practical necessity in the Spartan case into a general principle of morality: cf. M. Andronikos, Stud. to D. M. Robinson ii (1953) 583-92.

331. I deliberately use the geographical term "village", because the ramifications of kōmē, ōba and phylē are still imperfectly understood: see Appendix XI n.21.

332. R. C. Bosanquet, BSA xii. 303, gives a good description of the site.

333. For the contents of a Roman tomb found near here, see SMC 549; Chr. Christou, AD xix.1 (1964) 124 n.7, no.2.

334. Apollodoros ap. Strabo viii, p.363 says that Limnai was so called because it had formerly been swamp. It would be interesting to know whether human or natural agencies had rendered the area habitable: cf. Bölte, AM xxxiv (1909) 391-2.

335. The Dionysion mentioned by Apollodoros, loc.cit., remains unidentified also: Bölte, op.cit. 388-92; Bosanquet, BSA xii. 308n.1; RE 1363-4.

336. Dickins, BSA xii.295-302.

337. Wace, BSA xii,288-293; for a PG fragment from the Heroon (as the site is conventionally known), see Coldstream, GGP pl. 46c.

338. AD xxi.2 (1966) 156, pl.149β,δ.

339. Op.cit. 155-6.

340. AD xxiii.2 (1968) 151-2; AAA i (1968) 41-2, fig.3; AD xxiv. 2 (1969) 134-5.

341. BSA xiii.42, fig.7G.

342. C. Bursian, Geographie von Griechenland ii (1872) 126-7.

343. Polyainos (ii.1.14) describes it as "near Pitana". It was still outside the town in Agesilaos' time (Plut., Ages. xxxii.3-5), but it was crossed by the later city-wall: BSA xiii.10ff.,fig.3 (Wace). For a possibly late Classical anthemion stele from Klaraki, see Christou, AΣ 78-80, fig.14.

344. Plut., Mor. 601B; Pindar, Ol.vi.28; Eur., Troades 1112; cf. Hdt. iii.55.2 for an acquaintance of Herodotus from Pitana, whose grandfather had been given a public burial by the Samians. For the problematical Pitanate lokhos, see Anderson, op.cit.(n.46) 238-9.

345. The circumstances of the Agiad Regent Pausanias' death and burial (Thuc.i.134.2) were of course exceptional.

346. Sculpture: Tod-Wace, SMC 1, 576, 600; op.cit. p.104, fig.4 (= Jeffery, LSAG 193,200,no.29). Building: c. 150m. NW of the church of Analipsis above the state hospital are the foundations of a large building c. 30 m. x 10; the surrounding ground is covered with chips of marble and limestone: BSA lv. 82, no.1. Pottery: I can confirm the find of Classical pottery in many places on the south slopes of the hills N and NE of Magoula reported in loc.cit.

347. BSA xiii.155.

348. AΣ 51, 64-5, fig.7; cf. Frazer, Pausanias iii.324-5.

349. On the etymology, see G. Neumann, Gnomon xxxvi (1964) 612.

350. Christou, AΣ 51.

351. Bölte, RE 1329-30; 1372. The local tourist map comes down in favour of Knakiōn!

352. BSA xiii.6, pl.1 (L18, 19). See also n.369.

353. E. Curtius, Peloponnesos ii (1852) 227. The "circular" edifice excavated by C. Waldstein (AJA viii (1893) 410-428) has turned out to be semicircular and not earlier than the fifth century B.C.: Christou, Praktika for 1964, 102ff. It can no longer be identified with the round building described by Pausanias (iii.12.11) as near the Skias and built by the semi-legendary Epimenides (probably sixth century B.C.). For the Hellenistic and later theatre, see H. Bulle, Das Theater zu Sparta (1937); O.A.W. Dilke, BSA xlv (1950) 21-62, at 48-51.

354. Jeffery,LSAG 196-7,201, no.52: c. 450-431 (?); other publications are cited by de Ste. Croix, OPW 355. See also n. 589.

355. Thuc. i. 134 is the first to use the epithet Chalkioikos. In Imperial times the cults were separate: SMC 544. On cults of Athena Poliouchos generally, see L. R. Farnell, Cults of Greek States i(1907) 298,398ff.

356. BSA xiii. 139-40. Euripides, Tro.1113 describes Athena as "of the brazen door(s)", which may be more than just a metrical convenience. For similar plates of possibly Geometric date, see D. H. F. Gray, JHS lxxiv (1954) 3 and n.13.

357. Paus. iii.17.2; Plut., Mor. 208E(8).

358. References in BSA xiii. 140-1.

359. For example, Wace, SMC p.99. For the other evidence concerning Gitiadas, who was a "local" craftsman, see C. Robert, RE, s.v.; cf. Burford, CGRS 203.

360. Robert, op.cit. suggests there may be a connection with the "Battle of the Champions" of c. 546/5 B.C. (nn.11 and 568).

361. BSA xiii.139.

362. Op.cit. 144.

363. Op.cit.145-6.

364. Lyk. xxvii.1. The passage is discussed by Wace-Dickins, BSA xiii. 155ff.; cf. R. S. Young, "Sepulturae intra urbem", Hesperia xx (1951) 67ff., who concludes (p.134) that "burial and cremation in the city (sc. Athens) were unrestricted up to the end of the sixth century ..."; and most recently Kurtz-Boardman, GBC 181,188.

365. Apart from those mentioned in the text, I know of only four other probable or certain burials that antedate the Roman period: (1) BSA xii.293, a pithos-burial found near the Heroon and assigned to the "Greek" period; (2) a group of whole PC pots bought in Athens and said to be from Sparta should, to judge from their state of preservation, have come from one or more tombs: CVA, Oxford ii (G.B.9, 1931) 59-60, nos. 3,10,13,14,16, 17,18 (Oxford 1926.215-221); (3) three bone plaques now in Berlin are reported to have come from a Spartan tomb: G. C. Richards, JHS xii (1892) 41; Marangou, LEB figs.147-8,150 (c. 525); (4) Praktika for 1931, 93ff. (Hellenistic). A number of Roman burials is listed by Christou, AD xix.1.124-5 n.7.

366. Probes to locate the agora were made in the area south-east of the Akropolis in 1906, but failed to find positive and definite signs of it: BSA xii. 432ff. A rescue-dig on the site of the modern stadium fared no better: R. V. Nicholls, BSA xlv (1950) 282ff. The general consensus is that it lay west of the stadium between the "tomb of Leonidas" and the Akropolis: see recently BCH lxxxv (1961) 682ff. For the distinction between the "Staatsmarkt" (eleuthera agora), which we have been discussing, and the "Kaufmarkt", see Bölte, RE 1365. The nomenclature derives from Aristotle, Pol. vii, 1331^{a} $30-31^{b}$ 4, who borrowed it from Thessaly: see M. Austin-P. Vidal-Naquet, Economies et Sociétés en Grèce Ancienne^{2} (1972) no.125.

367. BSA xiii. 161.

368. AD xix.1 (1964) 123-63, 283-5. They were found in Mesoa, but the excavator suggests there may also have been a communal burial-ground west of the Akropolis. Excavation at Plesia, just outside Aphissou, has revealed a cist-tomb of similar construction: see n.390.

369. Another kiln has been found north-east of Sparta near the Eurotas: AM ii (1877) 300. R. M. Cook, BSA lvi (1961) 66 dates it to the Archaic period on the basis of its associated finds. For the application of archaeomagnetism for dating purposes to Greek kilns, see R. M. Cook et al., BSA lviii (1963) 8-13; ibid., "Archaeomagnetism" in D. Brothwell-E. Higgs, edd., Science in Archaeology^2 (1969) ch.5.

370. For an extended discussion of this class of amphorai, which he dates c.620-550, see Christou, AD xix. 1 (1964) 164ff.; add now the fragment from Sparta cited in n.338; another from Akovitika: AD xxv.1 (1970) pl.37; and one in a Swiss private collection: AK xvii (1974) 89-91, pl.21. For a higher dating of the series, see Marangou, LEB n.368.

371. GL 457.

372. Tsountas, AE 1889, 134-6 would locate the Minyans of Taygetos (Hdt. iv. 145ff.) near Arkines (see I.vi.§5, s.v. "Goranoi and Arkines" (no.40)).

373. See also the works cited in n.324.

374. L. Pareti, Storia di Sparta Arcaica i (1920) 187 n.1.

375. Of the c.4,000 whole vases about 2,000 were 2-handled skyphoi, 700 lakainai and 800 aryballoi: these corrected figures are from BSA xlv.273 n.29.

376. For iron obeloi generally, see Appendix VII.

377. To Frazer, loc.cit., add Huxley, ES n.109.

378. Steph. Byz., s.v. "Thornax", after Nikolaos of Damascus, F. Gr. Hist.90 F 29.

379. Th. Arvanitopoulos, Polemon iii (1947-8) 152-4.

380. Jeffery, LSAG 199, no.14.

381. This might explain the notice in Stephanos that Thornax was a mountain; cf. the bronze handle dedicated to Pythaieus from the Apollonion at Tyros (I. vi.§9, s.v. (no.81)): LSAG 200, no. 36 (sixth-century B.C.).

382. Bölte, RE, s.v. "Therapne" 2354, thought that the Spartans of the historical period had no idea where ancient Therapne lay; cf. Levi, Pausanias ii.69 n.174.

383. For the etymology of Lakedaimon, see G. Neumann, Gnomon xxxvi (1964) 612. The metrical convenience of Lăkĕdaimōn, used only in the genitive, dative and accusative cases, needs no emphasis. On the place/region confusion, see most recently R. Hope Simpson-J. F. Lazenby, The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad (1970) 74 (hereafter CSHI).

384. An excellent photograph is reproduced in V. Scully, The Earth, the Temple and the Gods (1962) pl.46.

385. BSA xvi.4-11. E. French, BSA lxiv (1969) 71 n.1 dates the pottery from the house to LH III B1: but see II.n.315; the rest was LH II B, III A1 and III B, but there is apparently no III C (pace BSA lv.72 n.33). (For the III B/C transition, see E. T. Vermeule, Archaeology xiii (1960) 66-75; E. French, AA 1969, 133ff. (stratigraphic evidence from Mycenae)). The latest British excavation on the site (1973) discovered three building levels and staircases but nothing later than III B; but for a probably Mycenaean and perhaps III.C fibula found by Tsountas, see III.iv(b)7. A.1.

386. BSA xv. 108ff.

387. L. Ross, Arch. Aufsätze i (1855) 6 and n.23; ii.243ff.

388. J. M. Cook, Geras Antoniou Keramopoullou (1953) 112-118, esp. 113-4. See further III.viii(b) and nn.1011ff.

389. See Appendix III.

390. Praktika for 1963, 130, pl.106A; AD xix1(1964) 124 n.7, no.5 (assigned to the Hellenistic period).

391. For the plan, see BCH lxxxviii (1964) 731, fig.1.

392. See I.vi.§9, s.v. "Kotroni (Vaskina)" (no.82) for a contemporary parallel.

393. Tsountas, AE 1889, 147. Vermeule, GBA 128 suggests it may have come from an Anatolian source. See further II.iv(a) and its n.195.

394. According to Pausanias (iii.2.6) Pharis was inhabited by Achaeans at the time of the Dorian invasion. It is not clear from Paus. iii.20.3 if he had any knowledge of the site of Pharis, which was uninhabited in his day, beyond the fact that it lay south of Amyklai. On Pausanias' "Achaeans", cf. Levi, Pausanias ii.43 n.90.

395. Tsountas, AE 1888, 197ff.; 1889, 136ff. A fragment of a LH IIA jug from Palaiopyrgi supports the association with the Vaphi otholos AD xxiii.1 (1968) 152.

396. For the latest Mycenaean material, see II.n.40; for further discussion and bibliography on the cults of Hyakinthos and Apollo and their interrelationship, see II.v(b) and its nn.326-338. A bronze fish from Rivotissa nearby, which was dedicated to Pohoidan in the sixth century B.C. (Jeffery, LSAG 200, no.34), may indicate the existence of a pre-Dorian cult of the earth god in the vicinity: for further bibliography on Pohoidan, see II. n.336.

397. Buschor-von Massow, VA Beil.6.5; cf.the articles of Dr. R. V. Nicholls cited in II.n.152.

398. For the dating, see II.iii(d); cf. the rudimentary character of Lakonian metalworking at this period, discussed in II.iv.

399. Buschor, VA 12 interestingly suggested that, although the potters were remnants of the old population (cf. W. Kraiker, Gnomon xli (1969) 604), the new spirit was contributed by the invaders; cf. J. Bouzek, Op.Ath.ix (1969) 41ff. But for the difficulties in any version of the "Dorian hypothesis", see Snodgrass, DAG 311-2; and further II.v(d).

400. The "throne" has recently been restored with new fragments: AD xxiii. 2 (1968) 149-150; AAA i (1968) 42ff. See also C. Robert , RE, s.v. "Bathykles (2)".

401. For the problems of the date and circumstances of the incorporation of Amyklai, II.v(d) and nn.560,563.

402. See G. Daux, BCH xcii (1968) 816 n.1, for an interesting discussion of the current Greek mania for obliterating those traces of the past which they, or some of them, find uncongenial. For Christou's excavation of a rich sanctuary (perhaps that of Alexandra/Kassandra: Paus. iii.19.6) near the church of Ay. Paraskevi, see BCH lxxxi (1957) 548ff.; AD xvi.2 (1960) 102-3; Praktika for 1961, 177-8. The final publication of these important finds is an urgent desideratum.

403. Cf. Bölte, RE 1328-9.

404. It was stipulated that a copy of the Peace of Nikias should be set up in the Amyklaion (Thuc.v.18.10; 23.5).

405. The most recent publication is Meiggs-Lewis, GHI no.67.

406. von Prott, AM xxix (1904) 13 also mentions coins, bronzes and fourth-century B.C. (the quality of the glaze?) black-glazed sherds.

407. See Kiechle, LS 35.

408. He also mentions a bronze spearhead of unknown date with a provenience of Anoyia: SMC 533.

409. 5 wreaths and 1 warrior with shield.

410. Now in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford 1910.613): see most recently J. Boardman, Greek Gems and Finger Rings (1970) pl. 827.

411. RE 1331.

412. AM xxix.8; xxx.152-3; Praktika for 1909, 294.

413. See Appendix IV n.7.

414. For the possible ancient name of this summit, see "Ancient Bryseiai", below.

415. In addition to those published by Cook (BSA xlv), see IG v.1. 229, 1515; M. N. Tod, BSA xlvii (1952) 118ff.

416. BSA xlv.274, fig.10.3,275, is part of a female statuette said to be late or sub-Archaic Corinthian work.

417. E.g. Frazer iii. 364.

418. On Spartan hunting, see nn.281-2, 284.

419. If you stand by the tiny chapel and look upwards, the mountain rises steeply above you and ends in a sharp point. Water is very plentiful and the area abounds in fruit trees.

420. E. P. Boblaye, Recherches géographiques sur les Ruines de la Morée (1835) 83.

421. P. M. Warren, Minoan Stone Vases (1969) 132-3; BSA lv. 105-7. See also Appendix II.A(12).

422. M. Andronikos, Peloponnesiaka i (1956) 253-314, at 257ff., fig.2. The interpretation of these relief-stelai is not certain. Andronikos has argued that none of the figures represents the heroised dead, but we learn from Pausanias (iii.16.4) that a heroon was set up to the ephor Chilon (it has been identified with a rectangular building c.1200m. W of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia: AD xix.2 (1964) 135-6) and it is hard not to believe that some at least depict heroised men rather than chthonic powers: cf. Jeffery, LSAG 185-6; Kurtz-Boardman, GBC 222,298.

423. One sherd is decorated as A. Furumark, The Mycenaean Pottery i (1941), Motive 50.

424. On Cyclopean walls, see most recently Sp. Iakovidis, AAA ii (1969) 463ff. The Geraki wall, it need hardly be said, is not comparable to those of Tiryns, Mycenae etc.

425. Of the later material, 2 r.f. fragments and 4 fragments of iron obeloi(?) are the most interesting pieces. For the latter, see also III.n.775 and Appendix VII.

426. SMC, pp.102ff., esp.106-7; cf.n.422. Also deserving of mention is a fragment of an Archaic draped female statue (torso only preserved): BSA xi.100, figs.1-2.

427. Jeffery, LSAG 60, 185, 201, nos. 45-46.

428. Op.cit. 201-2, nos.58, 60. These, like the examples from Sparta (LSAG, nos.57,59) and Kephala (BSA xi. 139-40) simply state - in a suitably Lakonic manner! - the name of the dead man and the circumstance of his death (in battle). According to Plutarch (Lyk. xxvii.2), this was one of the only two circumstances which rendered permissible the erection of a named gravestone; the literary and archaeological evidence are, understandably perhaps, in agreement. See most recently M. B. Wallace, Phoenix xxiv (1970) 99-100.

429. See Appendix I.E, s.v. "Sparta-Helos".

430. The location of the tomb is unfortunately not described in detail.

431. As BSA xiii.129, fig.7a.

432. Cf. Appendix I.C, s.v. "Routes over Parnon (iv)".

433. As Coldstream, GGP, pl.46a.

434. Cf. Desborough, PGP 285.

435. See I. vi.§10, s.v. "Ancient Akriai" (no.96).

436. Some deep bowl sherds with dullish paint may be LH IIIC1, but little emphasis can be laid on an attribution of this kind.

437. See Appendix II.A, s.v. "Marble (12)".

438. It is interesting that Hope Simpson and Lazenby can contemplate differentiating between "Homeric" and "Classical" (Paus. iii. 22.3 saw its ruins) Helos, but fail to consider this possibility in the case of Bryseiai. Had they done so, they would surely not have thrown overboard the literary evidence and identified "Classical" Bryseiai with Anthochorion (see I.vi§5, s.v. (no.39)).

439. Vessels of this type and fabric have been found at Ay. Paraskevi: see n.402.

440. Mrs. French compares the panel-type design on fragments of a large krater to AD xxiii.1 (1968) 165-6, no.36 (LH III C 1a-b).

441. Cf. Desborough, PGP 284; AO 66 n.16.

442. There may have been a pre-Dorian settlement called Helos (text and n.438, above), but the historical Helots almost certainly did not take their name from it (the likeliest derivation is from a root signifying "capture"): Müller, Dorians[2] ii.30; Toynbee, SPGH 195ff. I have argued in II.v(d) that the pre-Dorian inhabitants of the Helos plain were reduced to the status of Helots soon after the mid-tenth-century occupation of Sparta by Dorians; others prefer to follow Pausanias (iii.2.7), who records that Helos was laid waste by King Alkamenes (c. 740-00: Forrest, HS 21,33).

443. Sketch-map in BSA xvi.63.

444. I am grateful to Mr. V. Desborough and Dr. O. Dickinson for examining my sketches, which I was allowed to make through the generosity of the excavator, Prof. Christou.

445. These were all in the form of wreaths, as AO pl.193.11 (FIG. 75f): see also III.n.760.

446. The material I examined was possibly not the complete excavated deposit. Sherds of different periods were hopelessly jumbled in a cardboard box; the metal objects were not labelled.

447. See n.438.

448. See Appendix II.A, s.v. "Marble (7)".

449. See Appendix I.H, s.v. "Routes over Taygetos (ii. C)".

450. The marshy region east of the Vardhounia river on the far side from Liberdon is known today as Palaiochora tis Limnis.

451. P. E. Giannokopoulos, To Gytheion 51, fig.10 (now in the Gythion museum); cf. AR 1956-7, 12.

452. RE 1334; but see now Toynbee, SPGH 192-3.

453. LSAG 190n.5, 202, no.65: sixth century B.C.

454. F. Gschnitzer, Abhängige Orte in griechischen Altertum (1958) 62n.5; cf. I.vi.§8, s.v. "Ancient Oinous" (no.68).

455. I.v(e) and n.310.

456. Giannokopoulos, figs. 6-9. (The inscription from Larysion (IG v.1.1155 = SEG xi.928) can be dated no more closely than not later than the fifth century B.C.). Gythion is possibly the provenience of a sixth-century gem (Euboean?): Boardman, Archaic Greek Gems (1968) 22, no.21.

457. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres (Klio Beiheft xiv, 1923) 83-4. Gythion had been ravaged by the Athenian Tolmides in c. 456 B.C. (Thuc. i.108.5; D.S. xi.84.6): cf. Meiggs, AE 100.

458. Strabo viii, p.363 speaks of a naustathmon orykton, but, as Leake, Morea i.244 points out, he adds cautiously "so it is said". Xenophon (HG vi.5.32) implies that the town was fortified by 370.

459. Ph. Negris, AM xxix (1904) 342-3.

460. F. J. Frost, Archeologia: Trésors des Ages (Nov.-Dec., 1968) 41. See too for a seemingly promising technique, H. Edgerton-N. Skoufopoulos, "Sonar Search at Gytheion Harbour", AAA v (1972) 202-6.

461. See n.88.

462. AD xxi.2 (1966) 157. The fact that they were black-glazed may be a mark of perioikic poverty.

463. Athenaios xv.687A; Plut., Mor. 228B (18). But, like the dye, this should be taken with a pinch of salt!

464. Homer, Il. iii.443-6; Paus. iii.22.1; cf. Fermor, Mani 309-10.

465. But see n.436.

466. Br. Schröder, AM xxix (1904) 21-4.

467. Giannokopoulos 53ff., fig.14; on pp.52-3, fig.12, the author describes and illustrates an inscription, built into a house at Chosiaro, which appears to be Archaic.

468. I.v(e) and n.311.

469. See, in addition to the authorities cited below, J. G. Frazer, Pausanias and Other Greek Sketches (1900) 282-3. By "South Mani" is understood Mesa Mani (the region from Oitylon to Tainaron W of Taygetos) and part of Kato Mani as far north as Skoutari.

470. His arguments are accepted by among others F. W. Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybius i, n.ad v.19.2, and Philippson, GL 437. Levi, Pausanias ii.92 n.255 wonders whether the remains from Dikhova (no.47) might not represent Asine, but Dikhova seems to be too far N.

471. Coldstream, GGP 363 nn.3-5. Argive Asine was traditionally (Paus.ii.36.5; iii.7.4; iv.8.3) put to the torch as a punishment for supporting a Spartan invasion of the Argolid; by way of compensation the Spartans settled the refugees on their territory in a new Asine, no doubt not wholly selflessly! Compare their settlement of the refugee Aiginetans at Thyrea in 430: I.vi.§8, s.v. "Astros" (no.78) and n.569.

472. Mrs H. E. Waterhouse has kindly informed me by letter that she had met with this situation frequently in the course of her survey of Lakonia.

473. V. Burr, Die Tontafeln von Pylos (1958) 73, rather implausibly identified Teuthrone with the te-te-ra-ne of An 12 (1). The tablet must surely be referring to a place on the Messenian gulf.

474. For the cult of Artemis Issoria, see AD xxiii.2 (1968) 155; D. Peppas-Delmousou, AAA vi (1973) 482-91. This goddess was also worshipped in Sparta: text and n.343.

475. See n.466.

476. AD xxiii.2, pl.107β; it was previously seen by Woodward, BSA xiii.257, at Kotronas! Cf.n.474.

477. The date of original construction is unknown, but 2 Hellenistic or early Roman marble akroteria have been found which bear a family resemblance to the disc-akroteria from at least seven other Lakonian sanctuary-sites; cf.n.580.

478. B. Niese, GGN 1906, 125 thought Aigila was a perioikic community, but placed it on the east coast of the Messenian gulf; cf. L. R. Palmer, Minos iv (1956) 141 for the possible identification of a2-ki-ra (NA 856) with Aigila. See also Levi, Pausanias ii.142 n.74.

479. Petrographic analysis in BSA lxiii.335-6.

480. P. Warren, Minoan Stone Vases (1969) 126 corrects the list given by Hope Simpson-Waterhouse, BSA lvi.121. It appears that antico rosso was imported into Crete and worked there as early as MMIA. See further Appendix II.A(8).

481. See most recently BCH lxxxiii (1959) 632.

482. In addition to the arguments recited in the text, it seems possible to draw a parallel between the Temple of Poseidon and the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai: an important temple need not be attended by an equally important settlement.

483. P. H. Lloyd-Jones, Maia n.s. xix (1967) 218-9. See also Levi, Pausanias 94-5n.265; Fermor, Mani 130-3.

484. Jeffery, LSAG 197, 201, nos.53-54: before 430 B.C.; LSAG 197 (IG v.1.1231): early fourth century B.C. See also E. Bourguet, Le dialecte laconien (1927) 61ff. For Pohoidan in Lakonia, see also the works cited in n.396 and II.n.336.

485. E. Badian, JHS lxxxi (1961) 25-6 gives the references and illustrates the context.

486. Fermor, Mani 135-6. See I. v(c) and n.287 for further details.

487. For Artemidoros, see RE, s.v. (27); his floruit was 104-101 B.C.

488. LH III pottery was also found; local tradition connects the highest point of the ridge with Helen.

489. See I.v(e) and n.315 for the harbour. Salt is panned here today: Fermor, Mani 79 and pl. facing 65; cf.n.650.

490. R. Traquair, BSA xv (1908-9) 189-90, pl.12.

491. On the interpretation of Andronikos, Peloponnesiaka i (1956) 301-2, the snake represents the daimon to whom the arms and armour are being dedicated by the human figure. But see n.422.

492. W. Kolbe, IG v.1, p.237 suggests Messe as the place of origin; cf.ibid. ad IG v.1.1279-80. Also displaced is the fragmentary, non-Lakonian(?) "Spende"-relief found near Areopolis and now in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 543): Häfner, KLAG 141-3 (second quarter of the fifth century).

493. Ancient but not necessarily pre-Hellenistic remains have been found at Kouloumi S of Charouda: BSA xiii. 241ff.

494. See Bölte, RE s.v. "Oitylos".

495. Classical, Hellenistic and Roman sherds have been found here. About 200m.S of the bridge over the ravine between Oitylon and Kephala, to W of the road, Hope Simpson saw remains of squared poros blocks and fluted columns: BSA lvi.121 n.53.

496. BCH lxxxii (1958) 714.

497. The best picture is BCH lxxxiii.641, fig.23; see further III. n.906.

498. Dimensions: L.2.70m.; W.2.40. Its date is uncertain and it is omitted from the list of kilns in Cook, BSA lvi (1961) 65-7: see n.369.

499. For the history of Thalamai, see Bölte, RE, s.v.

500. BSA x.173, no.15 (=IG v.1.1317); cf. Wide, LK 246ff. On the possible political significance of the cult, see Toynbee, SPGH 242; Oliva, SSP 131 and n.1. A cult of Zeus Kataibatas is attested by BSA x.171-2, no.14 (=IG v.1.1316), which Jeffery, LSAG 186 n.2, dates to the middle or third quarter of the fifth century B.C.; cf. Nilsson, Gr. Feste 169 n.3; Sp. Iakovidis, AAA iii (1970) 288ff. Z. Kataibates recalls Z. Kappotas at Gythion: Levi, Pausanias ii.80 n.214.

501. A forest fire, which raged in Pausanias' own day, destroyed most of the trees; early this century charcoal was still being dug up on the banks of a small stream N of Leftro.

502. Neumann-Partsch, PGG 253.

503. See Appendix I.H, s.v. "Routes over Taygetos (ii.C)".

504. O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe (1954) 254n.6; cf. Wace, SMC pp.228ff., esp.230; ibid., AO 249ff., esp.250. See further Appendix II.C.

505. Valmin, Etudes 182ff.; but he complicates and confuses his position, it seems to me, by placing the famous temple of Artemis Limnatis (where King Teleklos was killed) at Brinda. See I.vi.§ 7, s.v. "Volimnos" (no.66).

506. See I.vi.§8,s.v. "Ancient Pellana" (no.69).

507. IG v.1.1431,38-9; cf. W. Kolbe, AM xxix (1904) 365; S. Kougeas, Hellenika 1933, 269-70.

508. G. Anapliotis, Hire-Abia-Palaiochora (1956) 9n.1.

509. ES 112 n.176.

510. Cf. the role of the fort (whose ruins still stand at Verga) in the defeat of Ibrahim Pasha at Almyro in the War of Independence.

511. Hope Simpson has apparently abandoned an earlier claim to have found "probably PG" sherds (BSA 1ii.242).

512. Full references to the ancient sources are given in RE, s.v. "Pharai (2)". (Pharai is an alternative spelling,with Doric ā for ē).

513. Telemachos' journey is described in Od. iii. 475ff.; xv.46ff., 144ff., 182ff., 189ff., and discussed by J. Wiesner, "Fahren und Reiten", Archaeologia Homerica i.F (1968) 25.

514. AJA 1xv, 1xviii, 1xxiii, no.78; McDonald-Rapp, MME no.137.

515. R. L. Scranton, Greek Walls (1941) 68-9, 163, no.19: "Polygonal Style, Quarry Face".

516. C. Leon, AM 1xxxiii (1968) 175ff., pls.59-64, publishes a small Archaic bronze youth from Akovitika and describes another 5 small bronzes (one is III.iv(b) 1.D.5) from the same excavation. For further excavation of the sanctuary of Poseidon (Pohoidan), see P. Themelis, AAA ii (1969) 352-7; cf.ibid., AD xxv.i (1970) 109-25.

517. See Frazer iii.427, n. ad loc.; BSA 1xi.119 n.27. Cf. n.519.

518. See also Ephoros, F. Gr. Hist. 70 F 116. Bölte, RE xix.1802 interprets Mesola to include the whole Nedon valley (no.65).

519. IG v.1.1369-70; cf. C. Roebuck, A History of Messenia from 369 to 146 B.C. (1941) 122-3. (quoted in BSA 1xi.119 n.27). Both inscriptions mention Kalamai.

520. This is perhaps the spring mentioned by Pausanias (iv.31.1); it is known today as Mati ("Eye").

521. Philippson, RE, s.v. "Denthalioi"; Bölte, RE, s.v. "Sparta" 1312ff. Cf. n.47.

522. RE, s.v. "Teleklos"; Forrest, HS 21, for his dates.

523. See n.514.

524. Desborough, PPS xxxi (1965) 214, comments that the PG sherds (II.n.16) need not be as early as the eleventh century B.C. Among the other recent finds a fragmentary Archaic bronze mirror with profile female figure incised on the handle stands out: AD xvii.2(1961-2) 96, fig.4 (now in Kalamata).

525. IG v.1.1375-7. The sixth-century B.C. bronze phialai dedicated to Artemis Limnatis or simply Limnatis (Jeffery, LSAG 199-200, nos.18 and 39) are of unknown provenience, but may come from Volimnos.

526. For a detailed description of how to reach Volimnos, see AJA lxv.255.

527. Strabo (viii, p.362) says that at some (unspecified) date the Messenians and Lakonians used to celebrate a joint festival and sacrificial rite here; cf. Nilsson, Gr. Feste 210ff.

528. Both Xen., HG vi.5.27, and D.S. xv.64.1 show that Sellasia was a polis; on this untechnical usage, see de Ste. Croix, OPW 345-6.

529. BCH lxxxv (1961) 691.

530. On this ancient road see further Appendix I.B, s.v. "Sparta-Tegea and the Thyreatis".

531. On the institution of proxenia, see now M. B. Wallace, "Early Greek Proxenoi", Phoenix xxiv (1970) 189ff., esp. 190,195ff., 203-5 (proxenoi of and in Sparta); Ph. Gautier, Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques (1972) ch.1.

532. Karachalios, AD x (1926) Parart., 41-4, figs.1-3.

533. This information has been kindly supplied by Miss K. Demakopoulou, formerly Epimelitria of Lakonia, who is preparing a study of Lakonia in the latest stages of the Bronze Age.

534. See "Zarnata(Kambos)" (no.58) ad fin. for references.

535. D.S. xv.67.2; cf. RE, s.v. "Lykomedes" 2299.

536. The names of the other two members are not certainly known, but Phrixa (see RE, s.v. "Phrixa (2)") may have been one of them: see now Andrewes in Gomme, HCT iv.33.

537. RE, s.v. "Sparta" 1309.

538. Known to Polybios as Belminatis, it presumably extended NNW as far as the watershed at least. See also Appendix I.A.

539. These must belong to the Athenaion, mentioned by Plutarch (Kleom.iv.1) and Polybios (ii.46.5): see Andrewes in Gomme, HCT iv.33.

540. Philippson, Peloponnes 243, says olives and mulberries flourish here.

541. See I. ii(b) with n.46. I cannot agree with the suggestion of Toynbee, SPGH 182 n.2, that the Skiritis did not come into Spartan possession until the middle of the sixth century B.C.; cf. A. R. Burn, The World of Hesiod (1936) 206, for the absence of legends about the conquest of northern Lakonia.

542. See Appendix I.B, s.v. "Sparta-Tegea and the Thyreatis".

543. On this period in general, see A. Fuks, JHS xc (1970) 78-89; Oliva, SSP 312-7, esp.315.

544. The vases are now on display in the National Museum, Athens. Worthy of separate mention is a large black-glazed krater (H. 0.47m.), whose handles suggest a metal prototype: see Praktika for 1957, pl.48a.

545. The date of this retrograde inscription (omitted from Jeffery, LSAG, but see p.184 on the direction of the script as a chronological index) should be c.500; the alphabet is perhaps Lakonian rather than Arkadian. The "bucket" is now in Athens (N.M.Inv.13189).

546. Fest. V. Ehrenberg (1966) 297-8, 302; cf. n.37. However, it is by no means certain that "Alphios" is the name of a river and not the owner. For the treaty, see n.45; I personally agree with Beloch that it was displayed at Olympia.

547. I have not seen K. Pitsios, Karyai Lakedaimonos (1948).

548. These are collected by Loring, op.cit. 55 n.109; note esp. Thuc. v.55.3, with Andrewes in Gomme, HCT iv.91-3.

549. Polyb. ix.28.7; xviii.14.7.

550. L. Ross, Reisen im Peloponnes (1841) 175.

551. Rhomaios, op.cit. 377n. refers to "a few ancient remains preserved from Arakhova", which he discussed in Athena xiv (1908) 3ff., and cites more recent works by local historians. I have not been able to see the latter.

552. καρύα in both ancient and modern Greek, means a "nut-bearing tree". In modern Greek it has come to mean particularly the walnut-tree, so, wherever these grow in any quantity, there is a chance that the area will be known as Karyai.

553. Vitruvius (i.i.5) preserves a tradition that Karyai medised at the time of the Persian Wars. If true, the implication is that Karyai was of some political importance at this date and may have been a factor in Sparta's apparent reluctance (Hdt. ix.8. 1ff., esp. 8.2) to commit herself to the defence of Greece north of the Isthmus: cf. G. L. Huxley, GRBS viii (1967) 29-32;and J. Wolski, Historia xxii (1973) at p.16.

554. LSJ^{9} s.v. "καρυατίζω." For the cult, see Nilsson, Gr. Feste 196ff.; an important source is H. L. Ahrens, ed., Bucolicorum Graecorum ... Reliquiae ii (Leipzig,1859) 4, no.vi. The "Karyatids" of the Erechtheion and elsewhere seem to have taken their name from the cult: Levi, Pausanias ii.35 n.69.

555. Cf. the Spartan involvement in the cult of Inō-Pasiphaë at Thalamai (no.54: see n.500), where politics and religion were undeniably interwoven.

556. See I.vi.§1, s.v. "Bryseiai" (no.12A); cf. Toynbee, SPGH 166, 174-5.

557. Frazer, n.ad Paus., loc.cit., aptly compares the heavily wooded road in the Highlands of Scotland between Loch Arkaig and Loch Lochy known as "the dark mile".

558. See Frazer, n.ad Paus. viii.13.3, where, in the manner of The Golden Bough, he collects superficially analogous evidence from several "primitive" cultures.

559. It is G. ("Classical") 7 in the list given by R. M. Cook, BSA lvi (1961) 66, who describes it as "not later than the third century B.C." (but see 66 n.16). Cf. n.369.

560. As Cook, op.cit. 64 n.10, points out, the stoking-tunnel would get too hot for a man comfortably to stand in it; so the kiln would be sunk in the ground to near the top of the tunnel and a separate pit dug for the stoker.

561. Cook, p.64, thinks that a (centrally placed) pillar or pier of this sort is represented on a wooden plaque from Pendeskouphia in Corinthia: BSA lvi, pl.7b. The central pillar of the Elis kilns listed by Cook consisted of compressed clay strengthened with potsherds.

562. Furtwängler-Reichhold, Gr. Vasenmalerei i (1904) 154.

563. R. L. Scranton, Greek Walls (1941) distinguishes the building phases: see Index s.v. "Helleniko"; the second phase ("Irregular Ashlar, Quarry Face") he considers to be probably fifth-century.

564. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, JdI lxxx (1965) 127 n.11 dates it after 550 B.C. and compares it to the earlier marble head found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (AO, fig.148 = JdI 1965, 130, fig.6).

565. H. Brunn, AM vii (1882) 112-25; Häfner, KLAZ 143 (now in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1730).

566. On the southern slope of Mt. Zavitsa, the natural frontier between the Thyreatis and the Argolid, are the ruins of an ancient fort. It is difficult to date the masonry, which consists of barely worked blocks, but it may fall within our period.

567. See also W. Vollgraff, Mnemosyne xlii (1914) 330ff., esp.341-2.

568. In addition to the references given in n.11, see Frazer, n. ad Paus. ii.20.7; Bölte, RE s.v. "Parparos"; the battle is described by Hdt. i.82. A tantalising fragment of a relief (from a polyandrion?) may be connected with the battle: R. Howell, BSA lxv (1970), no.20 (i), pl.39d; certain elements of the Gymnopaidiai festival are thought to reflect the victory: Huxley, ES nn.346-7.

569. The Aiginetans had been expelled from their island by the Athenians in 431 and settled by the Spartans in Thyrea (Thuc.ii. 27.2; iv.56.2) - this act of state tells us something about relations between Sparta and her perioikic subject-allies. Cf. n.471 for the comparable resettlement of the people of Argive Asine at a much earlier date.

570. Pausanias (ii.38.6) calls it Athene; it too appears to have been inland. Kahrstedt suggests that, after the destruction of Thyrea, Anthene acted as the political centre of the Thyreatis until 404, when the (unidentified) settlement at Ay. Andreas (below) took over this role.

571. On Hippodamos of Miletus (flor.second half of the fifth century B.C.), see RE, s.v. "Hippodamos (3)"; R. Martin, L'urbanisme dans la Grèce antique (1956) 103ff.; F. Castagnoli, Ippodameo di Mileto (1956) = Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity (M.I.T. 1971) ch.3.

572. For what is meant here by Kynouria (something different from both ancient Kynouria and the modern eparchy of this name), see I.iii.

573. The survival (in this region) of a language which retains traces of its ultimate Doric ancestor bears witness to its isolation: see e.g. H. Pernot, Introduction à l'étude du dialecte Tsakonien (1934). G. Nagy in W. Householder—G. Nagy, Greek, a survey of recent work (1972) 76 describes Tsakonian as "the only dialect with overt Doric features of more than just substratal nature".

574. As T. Gritsopoulos, Peloponnesiaka vi.129 n.3, points out, Leonidhion's natural communications are to the S, while those of Astros lie to the N: Tyros lies between Leonidhion and Astros! Furthermore, the routes over Parnon from the Eurotas valley lead to Astros and Leonidhion, not Tyros: Appendix I.C (i-iii).

575. Found in the 1870's and published as IG v.1.928, it is dated by Jeffery, LSAG 200, no.36, to the sixth century B.C.; cf. LSAG 194 n.2. See also n.381.

576. IG v.1.1518.

577. Weickert concludes from the distance between the guttae on the regula that the width of the triglyph was probably only about 0.32m.

578. Weickert remarks on the use of marble at such an early date (he put the temple somewhere in the seventh century) and suggests that its use was due to the proximity of the marble quarry at Doliana. See Appendix II.A (3).

579. Roof-tiles of three styles were found and fragments of a clay sima from a later restoration.

580. The 2 fragments are described by E. D. Van Buren, Greek Fictile Revetments (1926) 180, no.5. The Lakonian origin of all such disc-akroteria was asserted by H. Searls and W. B. Dinsmoor, AJA xlix (1945) 69 n.61; H. Lauter-Bufé, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des kombinierten lakonischen Akroters", AM lxxxix (1974) 205-30, pls.79-85 supersedes all earlier accounts.

581. The Lakonian-type akroterion is perhaps another argument against Argive control of the eastern seaboard down to c. 545. See n.12.

582. This is of course not an argument for the dating of a temple in stone to the seventh century. The date when the summit was first used for religious purposes cannot be precisely established either.

583. Cf. I. vi.§1, s.v. "Melathria (Skoura)" (no.6).

584. T. Kelly, AJA lxx (1966) 113-21, dates the Amphictyony to the seventh century B.C.; cf. his remarks in AHR lxxv (1970) 979. Coldstream, GGP 337, 343, says that late PG (ninth-century?) evidence may provide some support for the literary belief in the very early existence of the league.

585. According to Leake, Peloponnesiaca (1846) 295, the largest blocks measured 2.38 x 0.91m.

586. A. de Ridder, Catalogue des Bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes (1894) pl.1. Leonidhion is also the reported provenience of a four-sided bone seal: III.n.840.

587. The correct (Tsakonian) spelling is Lyppia, which may be thought to lend weight to the identification of the site at least with Glyppia (see next note).

588. Glympeis: Polyb.iv.36.5; v.20.4.Glyppia: Paus. iii.22.8. See also Levi, Pausanias ii.82 n.224.

589. Leake, Morea ii.521, found the smaller of the two fragments of Damonon's stele in the Ayia Saranda monastery at Tsitsina. The other fragment was excavated in the Chalkioikos on the Spartan akropolis: see I.vi.§i, s.v. "Classical Sparta" (no.1) and n.354. For the routes mentioned in the text, see Appendix I.C (ii-iii).

590. H. Bloesch, MH xvi (1959) 249-56, has discussed the class of Lakonian bronze warrior-statuettes; for further bibliography on this example (Athens N.M. 7598), see Häfner, KLAZ 118.

591. P. Poralla, Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier (1913) no.746.

592. Jeffery, LSAG 200, no.37.

593. "Lakonian" is a generic not a geographical specification; Lakonian tiles were used, for example, in the fourth century B.C. "Dema House" in Attika: BSA lvii (1962) 83-5, 108, fig.3. The presence of tiles gives a terminus post quem for the building of the second half of the seventh century: A. W. Lawrence, Greek Architecture[3] (1973) 96.

594. See Appendix I.C, s.v. "Routes over Parnon (iii)". For other route-guarding Lakonian forts, see nos. 18,61,69,71 and n.566.

595. Pausanias (iii.22.8) over-estimates the distance to be 100 stades.

596. At the beginning of the present century five courses, over 3m. thick, were still standing on the NE, and 3 courses, 1.80m. thick, on the NW.

597. IG v.1.1142; cf.SEG xi.920. It does not appear in Jeffery, LSAG, but see op.cit. 184 (retrograde as a chronological index).

598. See i.v(e) and n.302.

599. Cf. Ptolemy iii.16.22. On the problem of identification, see Levi, Pausanias ii. 89 n.246.

600. U. Köhler, AM ix (1884) 273,followed by IG xii.5(1) 542. On the perioikic status of Kyphanta, see Toynbee, SPGH 411 n.9; on proxenia, n.531.

601. On April 24, 1912 Toynbee walked from Zarax fjord to Ieraka and thence via Rikhea, Katavothra and Pakia to Kato Vezani (ancient Helos, no.38): SPGH 498, with map 3.

602. If the reading Z is correct, it is possible that one of the admirals of the victorious Spartan fleet at Aigospotamoi in 405 B.C., whose statue was erected at Delphi, was a man of Zarax: Meiggs-Lewis, GHI no.95, at p.289. For an earlier perioikic admiral, see Thuc. viii.22.1 (Deiniadas).

603. See e.g. Blue Guide to Greece[1] (Benn, 1967) 267.

604. See I.v(e) and n.300; Appendix I.C (iv).

605. This is the explanation favoured, without discussion, by Toynbee, SPGH 210; but note the context - the general poverty of the land either assigned to perioikoi or at least not claimed for themselves by the Spartans.

606. Frödin - Persson, Asine, pl.260.3.

607. Desborough, LMTS 89-90; GDA 80-3. See further II.v(b).

608. Boardman, I Gems 68-9, no.293. It is assigned on grounds of technique and motifs to Boardman's Class D, which was flourishing in the years around 600 B.C. (p.91), and to the artistic group K (p.88); see most recently D. H. F. Gray, Archaeologia Homerica i.G (1974) 26, no.11; 65, fig.21a.

609. Boardman, op.cit. 92-5; cf. ibid., JHS lxxxvii (1968) 1ff., esp. 1 and 7-8.

610. D. Kent Hill, AJA lxii (1958) 194, no.12; cf. E. Diehl, Die Hydria (1964) 22, who dates it c. 530 and gives a bibliography on p.216 (B69).

611. BCH xcv (1971) 878, figs. 169-70: said to be from the islands or East Greece.

612. BSA xii (1905-6) 270.

613. NH iv.5.18: but this is in the Argolid. The site of the well-known Koryphasion in W. Messenia has been certainly identified.

614. BSA lv.103 and n.155.

615. It takes its name from the red cliffs to the N.

616. The bluff measures 150m. N-S x 80 E-W. It was still occupied in the Roman period: BSA lvi.139 n.168.

617. Hope Simpson compares it to BSA lvi, pl.18d (Mavrovouni) .

618. The inscription (IG v.1.1108) was found in 1843: P. Le Bas, Revue Archéologique ii (1845) 219-20; see now L. Moretti, Olympionikai (1957) nos.655-7, 660-1.

619. Toynbee, SPGH 205; cf. I.vi.§8, s.v. "Ancient Oinous" (no.68), and I.vi.§5, s.v. "Ancient Aigiai" (no.42, with n.454).

620. See I.v(e) and n.309.

621. See I.v(e) and n.308.

622. Piles of pottery fragments along the breakwaters testify to ancient trade.

623. Although Asōpos was an Eleutherolakonian town and appears to have been in existence by the Classical period, we learn from Pausanias of some Achaeans, whose town was in ruins in his day, who lived in the vicinity. It is possible that they occupied Goulas, but it is hard to know how much weight should be put on Pausanias' use of "Achaeans". See Huxley, ES n.400; cf. n.394 above.

624. The projected British excavations (BSA xxix (1927-8) 306) failed to materialise.

625. Perhaps the most interesting is the well-known hydriaphoros: Diehl, op.cit. (n.610)6 and n.13; 11 (c.550?); it may have been dedicated by a hydria-maker: J. D. Beazley, Potter and Painter in Classical Athens (1946) 7.

626. Finds included black-glazed vessels of the sixth and fifth century, black-glazed kylikes, red-figure cups, Lakonian tiles, a fifth-century bronze lamp and the head of a small late Archaic kouros in Parian marble. A local inhabitant was moved to hand in a fine bronze handle : BCH xcv (1971) 888, fig.185.

627. Antiken aus dem Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn (Düsseldorf, 1969) no.44, with bibliography. The use of incision suggests a terminus post quem of Lakonian II (620-580 B.C.): Lane, LVP 122; see also n.580.

628. Skeat, Dorians 34 n.4, saw the sherds in the Sparta Museum, but I failed to rediscover them.

629. LSAG 194, 200, no.35. Other sixth/fifth-century inscriptions on bronze: SEG xi.908.

630. LSAG 194, 201, no.43, pl.37. Miss Jeffery rightly rejects the highly imaginative restoration which would attribute the dedication to the wife of King Arkesilas IV of Cyrene. I have myself wondered whether the Damaratos might not even be King Damaratos, who reigned c. 515-491: cf. de Ste. Croix, OPW 355 n.5. For Lakonian perirrhanteria, see III.vii(a).

631. Cook, GPP^2 271, writes: "There is nothing in inferences from names ... foreign ethnics and personal names were naturalized in Archaic Greece". But would not a Spartan citizen be more likely than a perioikos to receive such a name? Cf. among many possible examples Lakedaimonios, son of Kimon, and Athenaios, son of Perikleidas (Thuc.i.45.2;iv.119.2).

632. BSA lv, pl.22b12. The fragment shows a band of double zigzags below what appears to be a group of 4 vertical bars; a moulded ridge bounds the zigzags below and the lower portion is painted black.

633. BSA lvi.141 n.182. The sherd shows the lower folds of a peplos and belongs to the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., according to Hope Simpson; he does not say whether it is Lakonian.

634. Published by Christou, AE 1953-4 (3),188-200.

635. For inscriptions mentioning the inhabitants of Kotyrta, see IG v.1.961-3, 965-6, 1013.

636. Philippson, Peloponnes 177.

637. Expédition Scientifique de Morée ii.2.108, 123.

638. Peloponnes 177-8. See Appendix II.B(4).

639. Aphrodisias (Aphroditis: Thuc.iv.56.1) is associated with Kotyrta (Daimonia) by Thucydides and must therefore have lain on the coast in the western part of the Vatika Plain or perhaps further N at Gardia Kulendiani; Sidē lay either on the bay of Ay. Georgios or at Velanidia - at any rate E of Cape Malea (Skylax, Periplous xlvi); Ētis has been placed at Palaiokastro about 2km. S of Neapolis: but see BSA lvi.144.

640. BCH lxxxv (1961) 686; cf. another (undated) relief from Neapolis: BCH lxxxii (1958) 714.

641. This was an example of ἐπιτειχισμός, the most famous of which was of course Pylos, cited by Thucydides himself in this passage. For the location, see Dover in Gomme, HCT iv, ad loc.; cf. Xen., HG i.2.18.

642. For a bibliography of chamber-tombs with stepped dromoi, see BSA lxiv (1969) 132 n.17.

643. This is Boblaye's emendation of the inappropriate λίμνη of the MS.

644. The Corcyreans claimed, plausibly, that they had been unable to round Malea in 480 B.C. to participate in the Battle of Salamis:Hdt.vii.168.4.

645. Hence the proverb "Round Malea and forget your home"!

646. Philippson, Land und See der Griechen (1947) 28.

647. Moore, DG^4 s.v. "Katabatic wind".

648. Thuc.vii.26. 2; cf. Paus.iii.12.8 for the sanctuaries of Apollo Akritas ("of the Cape") and Maleatas in Sparta itself.

649. For a pun on the name, see Aristophanes, Ranai 186-7, with BSA lxiv.114 n.3.

650. J. Nenquin, Salt. A Study in Economic Prehistory (1961) 104-5 cites Classical examples; for the prehistoric period, cf. J. Alsop, From the Silent Earth (1965) 85-6. (the Linear B tablets, however, contain no mention of salt : Ventris-Chadwick, DMG^2 131).

651. A few sherds can be assigned to this period: see M. S. F. Hood, Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae ser. A (1966) 169-70, pl.23b; cf. ibid.,BSA lxv (1970) 37-45, esp.42-5 and fig.1. See also II.n. 357.

652. AM xxix (1904) 362-3. It is not absolutely certain that Negris and the British team were covering precisely the same ground.

653. A. J. Evans, JHS xvii (1897) 349-50; C. H. Gordon, JNES xvii (1958) 245; W. S. Smith in CAH^3 i.2 (1971) 180.

654. E. F. Weidner, JHS lix (1939) 137-8; Gordon, loc.cit. For fuller bibliography on both these texts, see E. Grumach, Bibliographie der kretisch-mykenischen Epigraphik (1963) 95.

655. JHS xvii.349-50. This is perhaps the place to mention the (genuine?) seals of Hittite type, whose reported provenience is Palaiokastro (see n.639): BSA lvi.144 n.198; a more likely provenience is Kythera. Boardman, Kadmos v (1966) 47-8, lists 3 Hittite seals found on the Greek mainland, but does not include the (uninscribed) Palaiokastro examples.

656. On this phenomenon, which was quite widespread in the south Aegean, see the bibliography in BSA lvi.157 n.260.

657. Slaves are mentioned in the Pylos Linear B tablets as coming from Kythera, and the island may have been a Mycenaean slave-market: Lord W. Taylour, The Mycenaeans (1964) 136; but see M. Lejeune, Historia viii (1959) 134 n.25; O. Masson, "Les noms des esclaves", in Actes du Colloque 1971 sur l'Esclavage (1973) 10-11; Huxley in Coldstream-Huxley, Kythera 33.

658. See I.v(d) with nn.291-2 for the murex; Coldstream in Kythera 202-4, 366-7 for the pottery.

659. SEG xxii.300, first published by G. L. Huxley, GRBS vi (1965) 47-9; but he could find no satisfactory explanation for the inscription, which consisted of the single word "Malos".

660. Local dark-ground oinochoe decorated in an Argive MG II manner: Coldstream in Coldstream-Huxley, Kythera 267 (Q4), 306; sub-Geometric krater belonging to the Argive Fusco series: Coldstream in Coldstream-Huxley, Kythera 201 (ω310), 306. For other Geometric and Archaic (esp.ω311) pieces, see Coldstream, op.cit. 201-2.

661. (a) F. Eckstein-A. Legner, Antike Kleinkunst im Liebieghaus (Frankfurt, 1969) pls.9-10, with bibliography; they date the figurine (Aphrodite?) to the last third of the sixth century B.C. (b) The marble lion (BSA xxxii, pl.42b) has a terminus post quem of the last third of the sixth century: Shefton in Dunbabin, Perachora ii.380 n.4; see further H. Gabelmann, Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild (1965) 118, Kat. no.92; Kurtz-Boardman, GBC 239. (c) The bronze head is now in Berlin (Inv. 6234): A. Greifenhagen, Antike Kunstwerke^2 (1966) 8,44 (bibliography), figs.12-13 (last third of sixth century).

662. R. Weil, AM v (1880) 228-9.

663. Huxley in Kythera 35 suggests yet another location; for the date of the fragments, see W. H. Plommer in op.cit., Appendix A and pl.4.

664. Xenophon, HG iv.8.7 mentions a harbour called Phoinikous on Kythera: this may be another ancient name for Skandeia, or for the convenient inlet of Avlemon (Huxley 37). For Bronze Age Phoenicians in the Mediterranean, see Snodgrass, DAG 23 n.30; for the view that Phoinikous is not connected with Phoenicians, J. D. Muhly, Berytus xix (1970) 33 n.100.

665. D. H. F. Gray in J. L. Myres, Homer and his Critics (1958) 284. Miss Jeffery, LSAG 8, has examined and rejected claims made for Kythera as the place where Greeks could have adopted the Phoenician alphabet. Before the inscription mentioned in n.659 was found, the only three Archaic inscriptions from Kythera were (1) the dedication scratched on the bronze figurine cited in n.661; (2) the dedication incised on an Archaic pithos: Coldstream in Kythera 267-8 (Q6); and (3) a graffito on a black-glazed mug from Gonies (IG v. 1.945, dated c. 510-00 in LSAG 194 n.4; cf. Coldstream 271(R5); the chief interest of the latter is that it informs us that half a Kytheran (Lakonian?) kotyle measured about half an Imperial pint in c.500 B.C.!

666. T. Kelly, AHR lxxv (1970) 971-1003, esp. 977-9. The Argive Geometric pots cited in n.660 need have no political significance; as M. I. Finley, Early Greece: the Bronze and Archaic Ages (1970) 39, puts it: "...archaeology alone, it cannot be repeated often enough, rarely can reveal the mechanism (Finley's italics) of foreign relations even when it unearths great quantities (my italics) of foreign-inspired goods".

667. The precise significance of the remark attributed by Herodotus (vii.235.2) to Chilon (ephor 556/5 (?): Toynbee, SPGH 243 n.1) has not yet been fully grasped. By the end of the fifth century (Thuc.iv.53.2) the Spartans sent out annual magistrates called Kytherodikai, and the Kytherans could be regarded as Spartan apoikoi (Thuc.vii.57.6; cf. the Melians: v.84.2).

668. In c.456/5 (Paus.i.27.5) Tolmides had plundered the island: Meiggs, AE 100. In 424 B.C. Nikias captured the by then fortified centre and Kythera was forced to pay an annual tribute of 4T (Thuc. iv.57.4) until 421 B.C., when under the terms of the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. v.18.7) she was presumably returned to Sparta: for her tribute record, see ATL i.322-3; iv.70. The possession of Kythera enabled the Athenians to make lightning raids up the west coast of the Malea peninsula (Thuc. iv.56; cf. I.vi.§10, s.v. "Ancient Kotyrta" (no.101). In 414 B.C., when the Athenians no longer controlled Kythera, they attempted an ἐπιτειχισμός on the mainland opposite (see I.vi.§10, s.v. "Ancient Boiai" (no.103) with n.641).

669. V. Staïs, AD i (1915) 191-4; cf. Coldstream in Kythera 263-5, pls.84-5.

670. The story of the discovery and raising of the cargo is well told by G. F. Bass, Archaeology under Water (1966) ch.5.

671. AE 1902, 145-72; I. Svoronos, Das Athener Nationalmuseum i (1908) 1ff., pls.1-20. The star piece was a life-size youth in bronze, an original work of the fourth century B.C., whose reconstruction was described recently by the late Chr. Karousos, AE 1969, 59ff., pls.1-4; see now P. C. Bol, Die Skulpturen des Schiffsfundes von Antikythera (AM Beiheft ii, 1972) 18-24, pls. 6-9 (N.M. 13396).

672. G. F. Bass in Underwater Archaeology, an ascent discipline (UNESCO, 1972) 35-7.

NOTES TO PART II

1. I shall attempt to defend this cluster of views in the section of Historical Conclusions (v(d)).

2. Snodgrass, DAG; briefly vii-viii, 436. Desborough, GDA 11-12 suggests a shorter period of darkness. Bouzek, HG covers roughly the same period as Snodgrass and is especially interesting for its stress on the interrelations between Greece and central Europe.

3. GDA 385, Index s.v. "Lack of evidence"! In an unpublished paper entitled "Amyklai and Dark Age Lakonia", which he kindly showed me, Desborough pointed out the relevance of the epigraph to this Part for the archaeologist. For similar sentiments, see H. Fränkel, "Man's 'Ephemeros' Nature according to Pindar and others", TAPA lxxvii (1946) 131-45.

4. Cf. M. Cary, The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History (1949) 90.

5. Painted pottery constitutes the bulk of the evidence from Amyklai and the totality of that from Sparta itself. The few metal artefacts are discussed in iv.

6. Deltion Archaiologikon 1890, 81, 101§4, 104§2; AE 1892, 1-26. Tsountas' finds are listed under SMC 550, 693, 794, 796-802. Over a quarter of the 40 "Geometric" sherds in Tray 798 are PG. SMC 791(i) is a sporadic find; cf. the PG sherds picked up in 1894 by S. Wide, JdI xiv (1899) 84.

7. JdI xxxiii (1918) 107ff.

8. Ibid. 125-8.

9. Ibid. 118ff.

10. P. Kavvadias-A. Skias, Praktika for 1907, 52, 60-1, 104-7.

11. Gnomon ii (1926) 120; VA 46-9. More than 1000 PG sherds were excavated, but in the three boxes in the Sparta Museum (2640) I counted only c.750. Perhaps some of the black-glazed body-sherds were discarded. Appendix VI lists the trays containing PG and Geometric pottery in the Sparta Museum.

12. VA 14, followed by Droop, AO 60, 63, 66 n.16. (I believe Desborough, PGP 318 and GDA 377, and Coldstream, GGP 407 are wrong to describe the Akropolis as a "settlement"; at least the excavated material, with the possible exception of the very few sherds from BSA xiii, pl.1, L11("a domestic and commercial area": Woodward, BSA xxvi.117), is almost certainly entirely cultic). Of 25 "Geometric" trays from the Akropolis (c.2500 sherds) 10 certainly and perhaps as many as 16 contained PG (c.120 sherds). N.B. (1) I was unable to locate the sherds dug by G. Dickins in 1907; (2) Droop, BSA xxviii.50 has not taken account of the supplementary digs of 1908 and 1909.

13. BSA xliii (1948) 268, referring to Coldstream, GGP pl.46c.

14. A. J. B. Wace, BSA xii (1905-6) 288-93. Tray 2577 revealed 6 PG and 8 Geometric sherds. The wholly preserved trefoil-lipped oinochoe (FIG.1) was first illustrated as AO 58, fig.32; the skyphos-rim sherd as Coldstream, GGP pl.46 c. But for "Amyclaion" ware at Orthia, see already Droop (next note).

15. S. Benton, JHS lxx (1950) 22; cf. E. Kirsten, BJ clviii(1958) 170-1; Droop, BSA xiii.123-4; AO 60-3, fig. 39a-b. Out of 18 "Geometric" trays from Orthia (c.650 sherds) 14 contained PG (c.50).

16. Stena: Hope Simpson-Waterhouse, BSA lvi. 115, fig.2a-b(FIG.2); Apidia: ibidd., BSA lv, pl.22b.10; Daimonia: op.cit. pl.22b.12 (I.n.632); Volimnos: W. A. McDonald-R. Hope Simpson, AJA lxv (1961) 255 (m) (through the kindness of Messrs. Coldstream and Desborough I have seen sketches of some of these sherds); Phoiniki: Skeat, Dorians 34 n.4.

17. Ch. Dugas, "Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée", BCH xlv (1921) 408, no.261, fig.56.

18. J. L. Caskey, Hesperia xxi (1952) pl.50.69; cf. Courbin, CGA i. 554.

19. Desborough, GDA 376 (bibliography): I owe the same thanks for these as for the Volimnos (see n.16) sherds, but I do not know whether these were from the trial-dig of 1959 or sporadic.

20. GDA 377; cf. ibid., LMTS 96 n.4.

21. PGP 283-90; he acknowledged his debt to Skeat, Dorians (q.v., esp. pp.31-5). For a concise history of the early study of PG as a style in Greece as a whole, see Cook, GPP^2 300-4, whose account brings out well the nuances and confusions of rival terminologies. It is not difficult in these circumstances to forget that the PG and Geometric styles "are merely successive phases of the same movement": Snodgrass, DAG 26.

22. Wace, SMC p.223, with reference to Cat. Nos. 705, 791(i), 792, 796(4-5), 798(2), 799(9): thus this glaze is found on clay spools, whorls and rings(FIG.3), in addition to pottery; Droop, BSA xiii (1906-7) 119-20.

23. JdI xxxiii.122, with fig.11 on p.121.

24. VA 46-9.

25. BSA xxviii (1927-8) 50-1; AO 60 (where he tentatively coined the term "Amyklaion style"), 63, 66 n.16, with fig.39a-b.

26. CVA, Cambridge i (G.B.6, 1930) pl.3.1 (hereafter Cambridge); also PG and from Orthia are Cambridge, pl.3. 2-3; from Amyklai are op. cit., pl.3.80-4, 87-95 (a selection on FIGS.4-5).

27. BSA xliii.267-8.

28. GDA 241 allows that "most of the pottery from the sanctuary areas of Sparta was also of the same type as that of Amyklai"; but his (in my opinion, excessively) restricted view of the distribution rules out any more concrete formulation than "what has been called Laconian Protogeometric" (p.242).

29. GGP 212-3, taking a more generous stand on the distribution. Bouzek, HG 111-2 adds nothing.

30. DAG 87-9, 130-1. For his equally summary treatment of the metalwork, see II.iv, below.

31. R. Hampe - E. Simon, CVA, Mainz i (Deutschland 15, 1959) pl.2.2.

32. F. Canciani, CVA, Heidelberg iii (Deutschland 27, 1966) pl. 134.1-11, 13-19, 21, 22 (?) (hereafter Heidelberg).

33. Unpublished sherds are also to be found in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge (where Prof. R. M. Cook kindly permitted me to photograph them); Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (12 fragments, photographed through the kindness of Michael Vickers) and the Sherd Collection of the British School of Archaeology at Athens (c. 20 from Amyklai in Box 03).

34. R. E. M. Wheeler, Archaeology from the Earth (1954) ch.4. is a good introduction to the aims and methods of digging strata. See also III.ii (stratigraphy of Orthia).

35. VA 24-33.

36. Cf. GDA 240-1.

37. VA 33.

38. VA 32, with figs.15-16 on p.31.

39. Lakonian LG pottery will be discussed in detail in III.iii.

40. For convenience of reference I append a list, most generously supplied by Miss Demakopoulou, of the latest Mycenaean material found at Amyklai:

(a) Clay figurines
- 75 psi-type
- 1 tau-type
- 67 animals (bulls, horses, sheep, dogs and 1 pig)
- 4 birds
- 1 centaur (??)

Total: 148 (65 psi-figurines, 65 animals and the 4 birds were found by Tsountas: AE 1892, 1-26, at p.15; SMC 550 (2), 794). E. French, "The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines", BSA lxvi (1971) 139-40, pls.21, 22a-d, discusses the "goddess"-figurines, but she takes little account of the animals (see only pp. 140 and n.80; 156 with pl.25d) and omits the birds (p.160; admittedly von Massow, VA 34, thought they were "Geometric", but Miss Demakopoulou tells me the clay and paint are Mycenaean).

(b) Pottery

III A2-B:	VA, Beil.vi.6
III B-C:	ibid. 9
III C (?):	ibid.4
IIIC (early):	ibid.7
IIIC:	VA 46, fig.26
1 "Close Style":	Unpublished (FIG.7a)

41. Appendix II.F deals very briefly with Lakonian clay. A comprehensive bibliography on the technique of Greek pottery is given by Richter, HGA^6 407-8. On modern pottery-making I have found J. and R. Christy, Making Pottery (1969) especially helpful; cf. A. Winter, Technische Beiträge zur Archäologie (1959) 1-45. For a stimulating "sociological" approach to the potter's craft, see the review article by K. Nicklin, "Stability and Innovation in Pottery Manufacture", World Archaeology iii (1971) 13-48. Desborough, GDA ch.19 says much in a short compass about the problems of method involved in interpreting pottery evidence.

42. Richter, HGA[6] 316 points out: "It is not a glaze in the modern sense ... It is rather a liquid clay, peptized, that is, with the heavier particles eliminated by means of a protective colloid". See also M. Bimson, Antiquaries Journal xxxvi (1956) 200-4; M. Farnsworth-I. Simmons, "Coloring Agents for Greek Glazes", AJA lxvii (1963) 389-96; J. and R. Christy, op.cit., Appendix I.

43. The experimental "draw-pieces" of an Athenian potter of c.1000 B.C. have been found in a well in the Agora: The Athenian Agora[2] (1962) 151; cf. Farnsworth, "Draw-pieces as aids to correct firing", AJA lxiv (1960) 72-5.

44. Droop, AO 66n.16: a very important and suggestive note.

45. J. and R. Christy, op.cit. 81. Their description of firing in a "primitive" kiln (pp.77-8) has some relevance to the Greek experience. For the range of temperatures necessary in metalwork, see Snodgrass, DAG 214. I have discussed finds of Lakonian kilns in I.vi.§1 with n.369;§8, s.v. "Ay. Petros" (no.74).

46. GDA 145, 147, 290. On the multiple-brush, see J. Boardman, Antiquity xxxiv (1960) 85-9. The question whether the causes of change in pottery manufacture are individual or broadly social is discussed by Nicklin, op.cit. 27. On the potter's wheel, see G. M. Foster, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology xv (1959) 99-117.

47. Gnomon ii.120; the "pregeometric" of Cook, GGP[2] 11 is unacceptable (see n.21).

48. Snodgrass, DAG 27, 125, 127, 138 n.22 (though he did not coin the term). It may also refer to a PG-style pot manufactured in an area where the true PG style has been transcended.

49. DAG 26.

50. LVP 101. It would have been instructive to see how he proposed to distinguish PG from Early Geometric!

51. VA 46; cf. Coldstream, GGP 12.

52. I do not pretend that this order of frequency has any scientific value; on a rough estimate only about half of the PG sherds in the Museum could be assigned a shape with any degree of certainty.

53. Cf. the evidence from the Samian Heraion: Coldstream, GGP 289 with 294 (para.1).

54. GGP 213n.1. There are further examples in (a) Amyklai: 798; (b) Akropolis: 2448,2458,2944-7,2957; (c) Orthia: 2348-9,2352-3, 2358,2360,2409,3036-7.

55. In my terminology Heidelberg, pl.134.1 (est. D. 30.2) (ILL.II.2a) would be a krater and ibid., pl.134.18 (est. D. 8) a skyphos, but Canciani noncommittally - and in my view misleadingly - uses "Becher" for both. For the same point (in a very different context!), see Aristotle, Pol.vii.4,1326[a] 35-[b]5.

56. I have been particularly impressed by the strictures of W. Kraiker, Gnomon xli (1969) 599-605, reviewing C.-G. Styrenius, Submycenaean Studies (1967). It is surely reasonable to suppose that a sanctuary-deposit will contain a mutually comparable quantity of storage-receptacles and drinking-vessels. Von Massow's "Bechern, Näpfen, Schüsseln, Tellern" does justice to the richness of the open shapes, but it is not possible to isolate and quantify the categories with any precision.

57. PGP 77: "... it is possible that one ate out of it as well"; but for the customary usage in the literary evidence, see Richter-Milne, SNAV 26-7.

58. 2, 853 were stacked ready for use in a small pantry (Room 19) of the "Palace of Nestor" in Messenia at the time of its destruction c.1200 B.C.: C. W. Blegen-M. Rawson, The Palace of Nestor i.1 (1966) 123-5. They have been found on a number of sites in Lakonia; the high survival-rate of the thick stems partly accounts for our (limited) knowledge of the pattern and density of habitation in the late Bronze Age, insofar as this knowledge is derived from surface-survey alone: see v(b) and n.305.

59. GDA 39. The Heroon fragment (GGP pl.46c) is exceptional in Lakonia more for its decoration than its shape.

60. GGP 212 n.6. Add (a) Amyklai: JdI xxxiii.121,fig.11; CVA, Mainz i, pl.2.2; and 798; (b) Akropolis: 2458, 2944, 2947; (c) Orthia: 2348-50, 2353, 2356, 2360, 3036; (d) Heroon: 2577; (e) Theatre: 3066 (a stray from the Akropolis).

61. GGP 213 n.3. Add (a) Amyklai: 798; Heidelberg, pl.134.1 (ILL II. 2a); (b) Orthia: 2348; (c) Apidia: BSA lv, pl.22b. 10. Contrast PGP 97 ("Apart from [Aetos and Crete], kraters of the Protogeometric style seem to be conspicuous by their absence") with PGP 285.

62. Cf. GDA 38 n.4.

63. Buschor, VA 13-14.

63a. On the name see Richter-Milne, SNAV 25-6.

64. Cf. BSA lvi. 115, fig.2a (neck-handled amphora: (6) below).

65. GDA 88, 245, 249 and bibliography on pp.375,378; for Aitolia, see I. Votokopoulou, AD xxiv. 1 (1969) 74-6, pl.46. For the cup shape, cf. somewhat BSA xxxiii (1932-3) 45 (Class E, from Aetos); for the kantharos, ibid.43-5 (Class D). Relations between Ithaka, Achaia, Aitolia and Lakonia will be discussed in (d), below.

66. PGP 286, but I have seen no certainly wheelmade examples. Comparable vessels have been excavated in the Argolid (Müller, Tiryns i.95-99, figs.29-32; Waldstein, AH ii.96; Courbin, CGA i.244-5; ii,pl.99) and Attika (Snodgrass, DAG 104 n.69, who cites other coarse ware in PG contexts). I have not seen the incised handmade ware mentioned in VA 49, but they would seem to be paralleled in the Argolid.

67. (a) Amyklai: VA 48, fig.28 and SMC 799(9); (b) Akropolis: 2943; (c) Orthia: 2348 (FIG.13c); 2353 (FIG.14d); Cambridge, pl.4.10-12 (FIG.15).

68. Again, olives would be a natural choice: cf. A. J. Evans, Palace of Minos ii. 1 (1928)134ff., quoted in PGP 113-4 (evidence from the sub-Minoan Spring Chamber).

69. In addition to the fragment cited by Desborough (PGP 289-90 n.1, omitted from his list on p.15), there are examples in (a) Akropolis: 2945(?),2946 (one perhaps from an amphoriskos), 2947, 2957; (b) Orthia: 2350, 2354, 2358, 2359. Their absence from the Amyklai deposits may or may not be accidental.

70. BSA lvi.115, fig.2a and n.11 (note the use of slip). For the shape, cf. somewhat Kerameikos iv, pl.33 (Inv.1071, Grave 34), but this lacks the bipartite handles.

71. It was found with the hydria (n.74), which may have been used to seal its mouth, and iv(d) (2) (iron spearhead (?)).

72. Desborough, PGP 6ff.; Styrenius, op.cit. (see n.56, above) 99; J. Bouzek, "The Beginnings of the Protogeometric Pottery and the 'Dorian Ware'", Op.Ath. ix (1969) 48; HG 124. No ashes, however, are reported to have been found; and the diversity of burial practices and the difficulties of interpretation of particular artefactual assemblages have been admirably stressed by P. J. Ucko, World Archaeology i (1969) 262-80.

73. SMC 791 (i), a sporadic find from the Amyklaion: H.8.5. Fully described by Desborough, PGP 284 (cf. p.44), this artistically worthless object is one of the only two wholly preserved shapes; it may have been dedicated by a child. VA, pl.2.2-3 may also be from hydriai.

74. BSA lvi. 115, fig.2b and n.11 on p.117 (full description). For its funerary use, see n.71 above.

75. Bouzek, Op.Ath.ix.50. For the relationship between the traditional manner of use and the form of water-pots, see Nicklin, op.cit. (see n.14 above) 25-6 and n.1.

76. I am not clear that VA, pl.2.6 (FIGS.11c (upside down) with 12b) is unambiguously PG.

77. AO 58, fig.32; GGP pl.46b. Classification and description: PGP 56,58.

78. PGP 58; on p.289 his uncertainty concerns the date rather than the style, but cf. W. Kraiker, Gnomon xi (1935) 646, who interprets the shape as sub-Mycenaean, the decoration as PG; while Schweitzer, GKG 67 finds in it a combination of PG, Ripe and LG features and therefore considers it LG! But see now AD xxiv.1 (1969) pl.48 (Aitolia).

79. Furumark, MP i.84; Desborough, LMTS 11; GDA 38. It seems to have replaced the jug with the cut-away neck: Bouzek, Op.Ath. ix.50.

80. PGP 45ff.; J. R. Green, "Oinochoe", BICS xix (1972) 1-16, esp.1-5.

81. VA, pl.2.8. It reminded Desborough, PGP 285, "rather of the Protocorinthian type of tall-necked oinochoe". The latter does not originate before the middle of the eighth century, but the comparison is not wholly preposterous, as I hope to show.

82. LSJ[9], s.v. My isolation of this shape in Lakonian PG is confirmed by an unpublished find from the Akropolis (Inv.5856: "ἀνεῦ ἐνδεξέως"). It is preserved intact (and so may be from a tomb) with a short neck, round mouth, ribbon handle from shoulder to rim, slightly tapering, squarish body and flat base. It is of unslipped, rather coarse pink fabric and undecorated but for large fringed cross-hatched triangles on the upper body effected in dilute black-brown paint.

83. LMTS 11; GDA 37. For a Lakonian IIIC 1 b-c example from Epidauros Limera, see K. Demakopoulou, AD xxiii.1 (1968) 184-5, pl.82α (no. 78); cf.n.144.

84. Bouzek, loc.cit. (n.79).

85. See M. Robertson, BSA xliii (1948) 104-6, pls.18-19,21 (Ithakan PG).

86. PGP 285, referring to VA, pl.2.14-16: add one example in the British School Sherd Collection (Box 03, from Amyklai).

87. For the concept of a "Northern Crescent", see GDA 85-105. For the parallels in Ancient Elis, Ithaka and Macedonia, see Bouzek, Op.Ath. ix. 43; and HG 114.

88. H. c.4; widest D. 7.5. Two grooves at the junction of base and body; black metallic glaze applied fairly thickly.

89. PGP 4, 77ff.; GDA 39 (skyphos or cup); other Attic shapes, PGP pls.9 (lekythos) and 12 (kantharos). Outside Attika, see PGP pls. 21,27,33; AD xxiv.1 (1969) pl.52. If it is a question of external inspiration, this may well have emanated from the Argolid.

90. Coldstream, GGP 213, based on VA 47.

91. VA, pl.2.19 (FIG.12a), 25 (smooth-stemmed); 20-1 (ribbed: no.22 is a neck, as I believe is no.23). Von Massow, VA 47, avers that nos.20-3 "nach Form und Firnis wohl die höchste Entwicklung dieser Gattung veranschaulichen", while nos.19 and 25 are "wesentlich primitiver"; yet on p.50 he can speculate that no.19 may be Geometric (if the criterion is decoration, it surely is). For the ridged or ribbed feet, cf. Ithaka ((a) Aetos: PGP 273,278-9; (b) Polis: S. Benton, BSA xliv (1949) 310-1); Kephallenia (Sp. Marinatos, AE 1932, pl.5); and W. Thessaly (D. Theocharis, AAA i (1968) 289-95, esp. 291 and fig.1). I incline to the view that the Amyklai examples, both smooth and ridged, are Mycenaean of the latest phase.

92. VA 48. Comparable statistics are regrettably unavailable for Sparta and elsewhere in Lakonia.

93. For the only example of grooves marking the junction of body and foot on an open shape, see n.88, above (from Amyklai).

94. PGP 285, with reference to kraters.

95. (a) Amyklai: 798, 2640 (2); (b) Akropolis: 2946 (2), 2957; (c) Orthia: 2348, 2353, 2409.

96. Akropolis 2946 (amphora-neck: ridge below rim, groove above upper handle-attachment); and Orthia 2348 (FIG.17d) (krater-rim: cross-hatched zone below overhanging rim supported by a groove; below this a ridge). The second example refutes PGP 285; cf. n.94.

97. VA, pl.3.13-14 (FIG.11g). I do not think it is fair to compare these, as Desborough (PGP 280) does, with the "incised plastic rings" from Aetos (BSA xxxiii. 46, nos.60-1). The incision at Amyklai is managed quite differently (there is a third, unillustrated, example of the same type of triangular notches on a black-glazed fragment in Amyklai 2640) and the shape in question is the skyphos. I know no precise parallel, but cf. somewhat (for their form at least) M. R. Popham-L. H. Sackett, Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, 1964-66 (1968) 25, fig.59 (bottom R), cited also in Bouzek, HG 111-2. Mr. Desborough tells me there are other similar unpublished kalathoi.

98. VA, pl.2. 10-12 (FIG.10d), 18.

99. Owing to the kindness of the excavator (Prof.W. A. McDonald), the Greek Archaeological Service and Roger Howell, I was able to see some of the recently excavated material from Nichoria in Messenia (bibliography in Desborough, GDA 376; add McDonald, Hesperia xli

(1972) 218-73, esp. 260). The Dark Age material is scrappy and difficult to date relatively or absolutely, though nothing, it seems, is certainly later than c.750. From the point of view of comparisons with Lakonia, the most interesting information is as follows: the skyphos (Hesperia xli, pl.50i) was the characteristic shape, but trefoil-lipped oinochoai, with grooves at the junction of neck and shoulder, occur perhaps rather later in the series (Hesperia xli, pl.50j); grooving occurs at the same place on amphorai (AD xxv.2 (1970) pl.160β, bottom R); both compass-drawn circles and cross-hatched triangles (including outlined: Lot 1986, unillustrated) are known.

100. Published examples are (a) Amyklai: VA, pl.2.9; pl.3.2 (FIG.11h), 7 (FIG.10i), 10,11,14,15 (FIG.11l); Cambridge pl.3.83 (FIG.4a), 95 (FIG.5a); Heidelberg pl.134.1,6,9,18; PGP pl.38.1 (FIG.18a); (b) Orthia: PGP pl.38.3 (FIG.18b), 13; (c) UP: PGP pl.38.6.

101. Published are (a) Amyklai: VA pl.3.1; Heidelberg pl.134.18; (b) Akropolis: AO fig.39b; (c) UP: PGP pl.38.5.

102. E.g. Cambridge pl.3.84 (Amyklai).

103. (a) Amyklai: JdI xxxiii.121, fig.11; VA pl.2.3, 17 (FIG.11i: ? inverted); pl.3. 1,6,10 (?),16; Cambridge pl.3.81,82 (FIG.5b); Heidelberg pl.134.11,15,16,18; (b) Akropolis: PGP pl.38.9 (? inverted) (?); (c) Orthia: PGP pl.38.10 (FIG.19).

104. (a) Amyklai: VA fig.27; pl.2.2,13; pl.3.3,4,8,10,11,12,22; Cambridge pl.3.91,94; PGP pl.38.1 (FIG.18a: 2 outlining triangles), 2; Heidelberg pl.134.8 (?), 14; (b) Akropolis: PGP pl.38.9(?); (c) Orthia: PGP pl.38.3 (FIG.18b), 14.

105. (a) Amyklai: VA pl.3.13 (FIG.11g); Cambridge pl.3.95 (FIG.5a); (b) Akropolis: 2947 (several).

106. (a) Orthia: Cambridge pl.3.2(?); PGP pl.38.10 (FIG.19); (b) Heroon: 2577 (FIG.20f); (c) Stena: BSA lvi.115, fig.2a (FIG.2a). For the peculiar placing of cross-hatched lozenges in the angles of larger rectilinear motifs, see nn.132, 134.

107. (a) Amyklai: VA pl.3.16(?), 17 (FIG.10a),18 (interrupted by "triglyph"); Cambridge pl.3.80 (FIG.4c); (b) Orthia: Cambridge pl.3.1; PGP pl.38.12. Unpublished examples in (a) Akropolis 2957; (b) Orthia: 2353, 2358, 2360 (FIG.21c and one other).

108. See e.g. FIG.16b (Akropolis 2946).

109. Amyklai: Cambridge pl.3.94; PGP pl.38.1 (FIG.18a). Unpublished examples in (a) Amyklai: 798; (b) Orthia: 2353, 3036, 3037 (?).

110. Akropolis: 2458, 2944 (the latter possibly LG). For the desire to fill all available space, cf. VA pl.3.16.

111. For the possible reasons behind the predilection for cross-hatched ornament, see iii(d) and n.174.

112. Cambridge pl.3.1 (Orthia): the sole example, apparently overlooked in PGP 286.

113. Amyklai: VA pl.3.14,15 (FIG.11l), 16; (b) Akropolis: 2458, 2956-7; (c) Orthia: PGP pl.38.12;2350.

114. (a) Amyklai: VA pl.3.17-18; 2640; (b) Akropolis: 2957; (c) Orthia: 2353, 2360.

115. (a) Akropolis: PGP pl.38.8(?); 2946 (FIG.16b), 2956; (b) Orthia: 2358.

116. Heroon: GGP, pl.46c; 2577 (unpublished). The PG sherd from Daimonia (BSA lv, pl. 22b. 12) has two superimposed scribbles, but it is not clear from the photograph what part of the pot they occupy.

117. (a) Heroon: AO 58, fig.32 (FIG.1); (b) Stena: BSA lvi. 115, fig. 2b (FIG.2b).

118. Cambridge,pl.3.82 (FIG.5b).

119. It could be either an alternative to an existent cross-hatched scheme or the precursor of such a scheme. For possible parallels, see BSA xlviii (1953) 269, fig.6 (P.132) from Ithaka, or Heidelberg, pl.101.2-3 from Attika.

120. PGP 86-8; cf. Coldstream, GGP 213 n.12.

121. Desborough, GDA 39 points out that sub-Mycenaean skyphoi sometimes had both a reserved band inside the lip and the reserved zone between the handles filled by a wavy line.

122. Desborough, LMTS 11. For a Lakonian example, see Demakopoulou (op.cit. in n.83, above) 178, pl.78α left (no.56: IIIC2).

123. See n.120. For the tholos at Tragana in Messenia, see GDA 83ff., 251, 377; for the Karpophora tomb-finds, see now A. Choremis, AE 1973, 66, nos. 622-3.

124. R. Hägg, Op.Ath. X (1971) 44, fig.4; like Desborough and Coldstream, he compares (among others) Frödin-Persson, Asine 428-9 (PG Tomb 25) and fig.277.3.

125. GGP pl.48c (kantharos), f (krater); cf. GDA 248-50 and pl.58.

126. Cambridge, pl.3.88 (FIG.5c) (Amyklai); for VA, pl.2.6., see n.76.

127. (a) Amyklai: VA pl.3.14; (b) Heroon: 2577 (unpublished).

128. It is not uncommon in Attic, but e.g. Snodgrass, DAG figs.42-4 may be more significant. For Mycenaean antecedents, see Furumark, MPi.363, fig.62 (Motive 50.13,16,17: IIIC); 414, fig.72 (Motive 75.22: IIIB/C).

129. GGP 213.

130. PGP 288.

131. BSA xxxiii. 53, fig.31.96.

132. VA, pl.3.21,23 (FIGS. 10g, 11k).

133. For further discussion of this deposit, see (d) below.

134. 2349 (unslipped orange clay, very metallic black paint): FIG.23h.

135. C. Vatin, Médéon de Phocide (1969) 62, figs.59-60 ("probably from the same workshop").

136. DAG, fig.44 (cf. n.128, above). I suspect the Aetos fragment (see nn.130-1) belongs here too.

137. For the concept of a "West Greek" PG style, see Coldstream,GGP 221-3 and (d), below. The cross-hatched triangles of the unpublished lekythos from the Akropolis (see n.82, above) are (uniquely) fringed.

138. VA, pl.3.21 (?); FIG.24f (Amyklai). The latter holds interest in another connection too, for it may be from a wheelmade animal-statuette: see (d) and n.155.

139. Heidelberg,pl.134. 3 and 5 exemplify the extremes. Other published examples are VA, pl.3.19 (FIG.10b) and CVA, Mainz i, pl.2.2 (Amyklai). There are unpublished sherds from (a) Amyklai: 2640; (b) Akropolis: 2957 (4); (c) Orthia: 2348 (FIG.17a); (d) Anthochorion.

140. VA, pl.3.13 (FIG.11g); 2640.

141. The "blind" lozenge-chain is well represented in Lakonian LG: e.g. GGP, pl.46j,k. The inspiration was probably Argive, as in e.g. GGP, pl.27a; cf. Courbin, CGA i.503, citing Annuario xvii-xviii (1955-6) 9, fig.1b (Scoglio del Tonno).

142. PGP 290; LMTS 261.

143. I use this indefinite formulation partly in view of the slightness of the evidence and partly because Lakonia is normally taken to be bounded on the west by Taygetos, whereas in I.n.2 I so defined it as to include an area of south-east Messenia to west of Taygetos. I did so because this preserved the unity of the Mani and because I felt that the idea of invading Messenia c.735 presupposed a certain familiarity with, if not effective control of, the region on the part of leading Spartans: see also Busolt, GG i.^{2} 229-32. The presence of Lakonian PG at Volimnos, and PG of Lakonian type at Thouria, Kaphirio and Nichoria is confirmatory evidence.

144. Miss K. Demakopoulou kindly pointed out that BSA lv, pl.18b.4,5, 8 are IIIC. The one really rich Lakonian IIIC site, Epidauros Limera (no.90), ends in IIIC 2 (or sub-Mycenaean: see n.157, below); its affinities in the latest period of its use were with the "central Aegean complex" rather than inland Lakonia: GDA 80-2, 84 n.3. For an excellent publication of these chamber-tomb finds, see K. Demakopoulou, AD xxiii.1 (1968) 145-94, 306-7, pls. 68-82, sketch 1.

145. R. Hägg, "Mykenische Kultstätten im archäologischen Material", Op.Ath. viii (1968) 39-60, at p.54 (Amyklai: for the late Mycenaean finds, see n.40, above, and the discussion in v(b) below). It is not clear when the site at Anthochorion was first used for cult; it may well have been a settlement-area in the Bronze Age.

146. See iii (c) with n.133.

147. Å1in, EMF 94.

148. PGP 282 and n.2.

149. See iii (c) 3 (NOTE) and n.91.

150. VA,Beilage vi. 13 ("Close Style"); cf. LMTS 88.

151. VA,Beilage vi. 14-15.

152. "Greek Votive Statuettes and Religious Continuity", Auckland Classical Essays, presented to E. M. Blaiklock (1970) 10; cf. ibid., BSA lxv (1970) 26 n.19, for a list of sites with Mycenaean examples.

153. VA, Beilage vi.5.

154. Miss Demakopoulou has shown me her fine photographs of the available statuettes and we have discussed the problem at length.

155. FIG.24f (cf. n.138). I can make nothing of FIG.24c (very metallic paint), also from Amyklai.

156. See iii (b) above.

157. C. - G. Styrenius, Submycenaean Studies (1967) 120 and n.59. On the concept of sub-Mycenaean, see GDA 28-33, who restricts it to "Boeotia, west Attica, the Argolid, Corinthia and probably Elis" and believes that it overlaps with other IIIC styles. The concept involves considerable problems (see Snodgrass, DAG 28-40) and few are so sparing and rigid in their usage as Desborough: e.g. two skyphoi restored from sherds recently discovered at Kardamyle (I. vi.§7 (no.57)) were described as "sub-Mycenaean": McDonald-Hope Simpson, AJA lxxiii (1969) 161, no.82.

158. For a Lakonian example, see Demakopoulou, op.cit. (see n.144, above), 185-6, pl.82β (no.81: IIIC2).

159. PGP 6; cf. GDA 33.

160. For the panelling, see Furumark, MP i.416-9: note especially the use of the "triglyph"; the cross-hatched triangle is ibid. 390 with fig.68 (Motive 61A, nos.5-7).

161. PGP 287.

162. Desborough, PGP 288, appositely suggested the comparison of VA, pl.3 with BSA xxxiii, pl.3.

163. In addition to the vases cited in nn.83, 122 and 158 above, see op.cit., pl.75β right (no.44, stirrup-jar) and pl.81β (no.75, jug): both IIIC2.

164. N. Verdhelis, Ho Protogeometrikos Rhythmos tis Thessalias (1958); Desborough, LMTS 261ff. (a brief restatement of the view that PG is an Attic invention and diffused from there); J. Deshayes, Fouilles de la Deiras (1966) e.g. 252 has argued for an independent origin of Argive PG: reply by Desborough, Gnomon xli (1969) 215-7. For a good general survey of the question, see Snodgrass, DAG 28-34, 43ff.

165. GDA 241.

166. LMTS 259.

167. Related but not of course wholly imitative, for, if there is no or very slight evidence of mainstream contact with Lakonia, then a fortiori there will be none in those styles wholly dependent on the mainstream for their inspiration and development. The group includes Boeotia, Euboea, Phokis and Lokris, some Aegean islands and parts of Crete: DAG 68-84.

168. The category embraces Ithaka, Aitolia, Achaia, Messenia and Lakonia: DAG 84-9. By categorising them in this way I do not mean to beg the question under discussion.

169. Summary accounts in DAG 79-84, 128-30; GDA 58-63, 225-39, esp. 239: "(During the tenth century) it was becoming entirely self-sufficient, relatively unconcerned with what people were doing elsewhere. And these were characteristics which it was to retain for centuries."

170. See n.135.

171. Cf. DAG 73, 85-6; GDA 206, 248.

172. (a) Messenia: excavated sites are Kokevi, Malthi, Nichoria (still in progress), Rizes and Tragana (bibliography in GDA 376-7); (b) Elis: Ayios Andreas, Salmone (ibid: note that the pit graves from Ancient Elis are somewhat earlier and their contents more heavily "Atticising": GDA 33ff., 74; cf. DAG 55, 65, 157); (c) Achaia: Derveni (GDA 376); (d) Aitolia: Kalydon, Kaloyeriko (Pylene), Agrinion (AD xxiv.1 (1969) 74ff.; GDA 378); (e) Ithaka: Polis, Aetos (GDA 378). See further the list of sites with PG in south-west Peloponnese identified by surface survey only: McDonald-Hope Simpson, AJA lxxiii (1969) 161-8; McDonald-Rapp, MME 144. The best general survey is GDA 243-57.

173. GGP 221ff.; GDA 243-57. But the chronology is not, in my opinion, tight enough for it to be used to date Lakonian PG.

174. The hypothesis does not and is not claimed to answer the questions of whether the pottery was made by the newcomers (whether en route or in Lakonia itself) or by the remnants of the old population (whose existence is apparently not attested archaeologically), who may have used ideas transmitted by the new people via the patterns on their vessels of organic matter. The second alternative is a version of the old theory of the Dorians, recently revived by Bouzek, Op.Ath. ix. 41 and 56; and HG 115; it explains perhaps as well as any other theory the peculiar Lakonian love of cross-hatching at least. Cf. I.n.399.

175. Nicklin, op.cit. (n.41) 47.

176. It remains a minimum hypothesis based on such archaeological evidence as we possess; when it is given a chronological framework (see below), further particular challenges can be made: some of these are discussed by Desborough in his paper quoted in n.3, above. For a more summary statement of the hypothesis, see GDA 352.

177. The only possible exception might be "the use of concentric circles, as combined with cross-hatched panels, suggesting possible contact with the end of Athenian Protogeometric" (GDA 243); for examples, see n.107. But Desborough feels (loc.cit.) that these "need not ... necessarily be related to any tenth-century source in the Aegean area".

178. Hope Simpson-Waterhouse, BSA lvi.115 suggested that the Stena amphora and hydria might be "late" PG. If they mean "late" in relation to the Lakonian series, it is surprising that it is precisely these pieces that show signs of external contact, whether mediate or direct, with the mainstream Argive or especially Attic PG styles. I should explain the un-Lakonian characteristics (matt glaze, absence of grooving) in terms rather of these influences than of their developmental situation within the Lakonian PG style.

179. GGP 214-5 is a masterly account. But see also III.iii (c), Introduction.

180. Relative chronologies are best founded on well-stratified occupation-sites or, failing them, grave-groups: DAG 24; GDA 135 etc. For Lakonian PG we have only sanctuary-deposits (see n.12); for the kind of absurdities that can arise from a simplistic extrapolation from depth of deposit to span of deposition, see the discussion of the Orthia stratigraphy in III.ii (e) and its n.78.

181. The chief objection appears to be the subjective judgement that "the style is hardly likely to have remained unchanged for more than two generations": GDA 242. But Desborough, who allows for no internal development of the type proposed by Droop (see below), nevertheless allows it about 150 years.

182. AO 66 n.16.

183. The argument from the pottery to isolation and stagnation is not entirely circular: there is evidence of backwardness in the non-ceramic dedications too (iv, below). For the relation between "market-forces" and ceramic change, see G. M. Foster in F. R. Matson, ed., Ceramics and Man (1965) 52.

184. E.g. Desborough, LMTS 175 (infra).

185. DAG, ch. 5 is far and away the best survey for the early period and most of the relevant bibliography is contained in the notes on pp.287-95. Additional basic bibliography is provided by R. Pleiner, Iron Working in Ancient Greece (National Technical Museum, Prague 1969), which is also the best short account of that whole subject. There is much of more general interest in L. Aitchison, A History of Metals i (1960), ch.6, esp. pp.186-212 (bronze). A survey covering briefly the deposits of iron in Lakonia, some iron artefacts or evidence of working and the literary testimony may be found in my Appendix II.B.

185a. A. J. Graham, JHS xci (1971) 44-5 covers much the same ground, though from a different point of view (the colonisation of Pithekoussai).

186. Xenophon, HG iii.3.7 (cited in Appendix II.B) raises the following (at present unanswerable) questions: (1) Is the iron of Lakonian provenience? (2) If so, how was it extracted and by whom? (3) When did the process of wholly domestic production begin and by whom was it undertaken?

187. Pleiner's "proto-Iron Age", for example, connotes the survival of enough bronze and iron objects of all classes to determine their relative frequency of occurrence and the nature of their respective uses: see below and n.196.

188. Irons are either meteoric or telluric; if the latter, they may occur in "compounds" or "ores", the distinction in terminology deriving from the percentage of iron present. For a list of ores (i.e. over 20% iron), see R. J. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology ix^2 (1972) 189-90.

189. This was largely compensated by the proximity of the rich deposits on Cyprus (the name of the island was also the Greek work for "copper"; it would be interesting to know which was the borrower): see H. W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World (1964) esp. 7-14; G. F. Bass in Bass, ed., Cape Gelidonya: a Bronze Age Shipwreck (1967), ch. 5; cf. McDonald-Rapp, MME ch.14.

190. S. Benton, Antiquity xxxviii (1964) 138 succinctly puts the arguments against the existence of tin-deposits in Greece; cf. J. E. Dayton, World Archaeology iii (1971) 49-70; v (1973) 123-5.

191. ESAG 401 lists the deposits in Greece and discusses the types of irons.

192. For descriptions of the techniques used by Greek blacksmiths, see the works cited in DAG 287 n.1; to these should perhaps be added H. Maryon, Metalwork and Enamelling[5] (1971). As Snodgrass, DAG 215-6 stresses, it requires a high level of skill to produce wrought iron that is harder than cast and hammered bronze; cf. J. Alsop, From the Silent Earth (1965) 137. I shall deal with technical questions only in connection with particular artefacts or classes of them.

193. This happy phrase is borrowed from Snodgrass, JHS lxxxv (1965) 110, where it was used in a different context (see Appendix XII).

194. Op.cit. (see n.185) 29-32, based on S. Przeworski, Die Metallindustrie Anatoliens in der Zeit von 1500 bis 700 vor Chr.: Rohstoffe, Technik, Produktion (1939), reprinted in his Opera Selecta (1967) 69-351.

195. Typical examples are the rings from the Vaphio tholos and the Melathria chamber-tomb: see Appendix II, B, s.v.; cf. H. H. Coghlan, Notes on Prehistoric and Early Iron in the Old World (1956) 64-5. For meteoric iron, see I.n.500 (cults of Zeus Kataibatas at Thalamai, Z. Kappotas at Gythion).

196. This is Przeworski's "Chalcosideric Age", whose salient characteristics are listed and criticised in DAG 228-9.

197. The problem of the iron spits found in Lakonia and elsewhere is considered in Appendix VII.

198. Op.cit.13-15. For the types of implements putatively used by farmers at this time or a little earlier, see W. Schiering in Richter, LHZ 147-158.

199. AJA lxvi (1962) 408-10, EGAW 103-4, 133-5, 191-2 and PPS xxxi (1965) 229-40 are "Vorarbeiten" to the masterly account in DAG ch. 5.

200. PPS xxxi. 230-1; the concentration on military implements is dictated partly by conditions of preservation and partly by the general non-survival of those used by farmers or craftsmen (cf. n.198).

201. Snodgrass believes the adoption of iron (the original inspiration being from the East, immediately from Cyprus) was a matter of necessity and due to a shortage of bronze: DAG 237ff. For a cautious review of the hypothesis, see Desborough, GDA 314-8. I do not believe it is yet possible to decide the issue.

202. Hesiod is generally agreed to have lived c.700 B.C., but the reasons for the agreement are not so easy to state: see M. L. West, ed., Hesiod: Theogony (1966) 40-8 (reviewed by P. Walcot, CR n.s. xvii (1967) 267) and Walcot, Hesiod and the Near East (1966) 108ff. (reviewed by West, CR n.s. xvii. 269); on his references to iron, see Pleiner p.14; on the "Age of Iron" (WD 106-201), see J. Gwyn Griffiths, JHI xvii.1 (1956) 109-19; and Snodgrass, DAG 3-4.

203. Buschor, VA 13, gives as examples "small double axes ...; many of the rich finds of massive rings, pendants, wheels, wire-spirals, bronze and iron votive weapons; the simplest tripods; primitive bronze and terracotta human and animal figurines, fibulae like Beil. viii.1; the oldest pins". (It is not, however, clear to me how far Buschor is describing finds from his own excavations or those made by Tsountas and catalogued as SMC 693 and 802). Many of these finds have parallels in Sparta and they will receive fuller treatment in III.iv; rings, tripods and iron weapons are partly discussed here.

204. I have in mind in particular the levels labelled "Geometric" by the excavators at Orthia: see III.ii; cf. n.180.

205. See nn.189-190.

206. The identification is accepted in GDA 282, but there is no mention of Lakonian tripods in Snodgrass, DAG 245-6. For the repoussé technique, see H. Maryon, AJA liii (1949) 120-2; ibid., op.cit. (see n.192) ch.13.

207. The richest series is from Olympia and has been published by F. Willemsen, Ol. Forsch.iii (1957), who believes it dates back at least to the tenth century B.C.; but S. Benton, AJA lxiii (1959) 94-5 and P. Amandry, Gnomon xxxii (1960) 461 put it no earlier than the eighth. There is a general survey in DAG 281-5, who perhaps underemphasises the importance of the only relevant recent find (moulds for casting tripod-legs at Lefkandi in Euboea c.900 B.C.: Catling in M. R. Popham-L. H. Sackett, edd., Excavations at Lefkandi (1968) 28-9, fig.67). See also III.iv(b)6.

208. This is not contradicted by a comparison with an example from the Argive Heraion (Waldstein, AH ii, pl.102.1754), where there was a preponderance of later Geometric pottery; cf. DAG 277-9.

209. The significance of the cult of Hyakinthos, which co-existed happily with that of Apollo, is discussed in II.v(b) and (d), below.

210. W. H. D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (1902) 145-8, 355; Reisch, RE s.v. "Dreifuss", esp. coll. 1684 ff.

211. Snodgrass, EGAW 126 (Type K.1). For the technique, cf. DAG 224, citing Coghlan, Notes on the Prehistoric Metallurgy of Copper and Bronze in the Old World (1951) 102-3, 109.

212. Snodgrass, PPS xxxi. 231 is somewhat modified by the more sophisticated picture in DAG 222 ff., 233 and 237; cf. GDA 316. The marked reversion to bronze for dedications of spearheads is, however, a phenomenon of the post-Geometric era.

213. DAG 237, 279 remarks on the connection between material and purpose, but only the sword could conceivably be described as a "show-piece".

214. This is the date given by Snodgrass in the caption to DAG, fig.88, but I think it represents no more than the midpoint of the span allotted by him to the associated pottery (c.850-750 B.C.).

215. Cf. Catling, op.cit.(see n.189) 118-9 (c) for the type.

216. EGAW 131 (Type U.1); cf. Desborough, PGP 312 (I do not see the force of his comparison with a spearhead from the Kerameikos Tomb A, which is dated c.1050 B.C.: cf. DAG 222 and fig.78). For the change to throwing-spears in the Geometric period, see P. Courbin in J.-P. Vernant, ed., Problèmes de la Guerre en Grèce Ancienne (1968) 72, but the impression he gives that the Amyklai spearheads are from throwing-spears (see his n.23) is misleading: we just cannot tell.

217. For a possible prototype, see S. Hood, BSA xlviii (1953) 78-9, no. 21, fig.46 (Mycenae): DAG 290 n.33. The date is again perhaps c. 800 B.C.

218. Snodgrass, EGAW 131 cites E. Filow, Die archaische Nekropolen von Trebenischte (1927) 90, figs.105-6, but in DAG 245 he writes that the wide blade is "of a kind not found in later spearheads".

219. BSA xiii. 117, fig.6d, described by Droop as "frequent".

220. Waldstein, AH ii, pl.91.1488, 1496, 1498, 1513-5.

221. Droop, AO 199, pl.85 i,k,l,m,n,s,t.

222. Buschor, VA 13 may have been thinking of these when he speaks of rings used as "Körperschmuck".

223. VA 34; cf. Furtwängler, Olympia iv. 59. But for the view that they are bobbins, see N. Verdhelis, AM lxxviii (1963) 43, fig.14 and Beil. 19.3.

224. Rouse, op.cit. (see n.210) 240-5; cf. Marangou, LEB n.932.

225. R. and E. Blum, The Dangerous Hour (1970) esp. 337.

226. E. R. Leach, "Magical Hair", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute lxxxviii (1958) 147-64; cf. J. D. M. Derrett, "Religious Hair", Man n.s. viii (1973) 100-7.

227. W. Den Boer, Laconian Studies (1954) 228 and n.1. Leach would also give weight to the sexual aspect.

228. Furtwängler, JdI xxxiii.128 saw it in the Sparta Museum, but its current whereabouts is unknown. It is said to have been excavated by Tsountas and may be the one mentioned in his report (AE 1892, 14); cf. SMC 693.16-17 (two fragmentary double-edged sword blades of iron also found at Amyklai by Tsountas).

229. Olympia iv. 72, pl. 26.533; cf. Desborough, PGP 311; Snodgrass, PPS xxxi.231.

230. VA 13; cf. n.203.

231. EGAW 109. In his classification the Olympia sword is Type 1.31, the Amyklai sword Type 1.40.

232. See n.207; for weapons at Olympia, see DAG 279, 294 n.63. The dating of early bronze and terracotta figurines from Olympia is discussed in connection with comparable Lakonian examples in Part III.

233. EGAW 104-6.

234. Snodgrass, PPS xxxi.231 and n.1; DAG 229-30. For the Late Bronze Age predecessors of iron swords in Greece, see H. W. Catling, BSA lxiii (1968) 89-104, esp. 101-4. But cf. n.201.

235. Desborough, GDA 311-2. Changes in tactics and equipment are discussed in connection with the rise of the hoplite phalanx in my Appendix XII.

236. BSA lvi. 117 and n.12. Now in the Gythion Museum (Town Hall). For the associated pots see iii (b). 2 (6)-(7) and nn.70-1, 74; this is almost certainly a tomb-group:Snodgrass, DAG 212.

237. DAG 246.

238. This holds good even if, as I would prefer, the initial date of Lakonian PG is raised from his c.850 to c.950 B.C.

239. Cf. DAG 247 (Ancient Elis, Delphi, Skyros, Kephallenia and Achaia).

240. From neither can it be inferred that there existed extremes of wealth, I should add; this kind of information is generally better conveyed by grave-goods. But for "show-piece" dedications, cf. n.213.

241. Republic 514^{c}-5^{a}, 518^{a} 8-9 (O.C.T.).

242. I hope this neutral formulation will prove acceptable to R. A. McNeal: see his "The Greeks in History and Prehistory", Antiquity xlvi (1972) 19-28. I agree that the different types of evidence (literary, artefactual, dialectal and skeletal - perhaps also "environmental") do not produce arguments and conclusions that are easily reconcilable.

243. Gomme, GAPH 14-17, points out that in this respect the composition of poetry and history differ.

244. I set no particular store by the criterion of writing in this context, for it is not so much the fact of its use as the purposes for which it is used and the identity of the users that are of cultural significance: see Goody-Watt, CL, partially reprinted in Giglio, LSC 311-57. The earliest datable Lakonian writing belongs to the second half of the seventh century: Jeffery, LSAG 183-202, at pp.187-8, 199; for the relative unimportance of writing in Sparta, see Marrou, HEA^{6} 45 (Sparta made it a "point d'honneur à rester une ville de semi-illettrés"); and F. D. Harvey, REG lxxix (1966) 623-7.

245. For a convenient survey of the shifting terminologies, see the Foreword by A. J. B. Wace to Ventris-Chadwick, DMG^{2}. In his youth Wace himself was not proof against the "Minoanising" taint: Tod-Wace, SMC pp.222-3. Mycenaean chronology is discussed below.

246. The basic publications are by H. Schliemann (1878), Chr. Tsountas (1893 and 1896), G. Karo (1930-3) and Wace (1949); their work is capably described and evaluated by McDonald, PP, chs.2, 3 and 7. A full bibliography is provided by the current excavator, G. E. Mylonas, in his Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age (1966) 239-41.

247. Desborough, GDA 18; for the opposite view, see C. G. Thomas, "A Mycenaean Hegemony? A reconsideration," JHS xc (1970) 184-192.

248. The historicity of the Homeric poems, which are not of course contemporary texts, will be considered in (d) below.

249. The fundamental publications are Ventris-Chadwick, "Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives", JHS lxxiii (1953) 84-103; Ventris-Chadwick, DMG^{2}. Cf. Chadwick, DLB^{2}. (But see n.255). The non-Greek elements in the tablets and the relationship between the language of the tablets and that of the ordinary people are discussed by S. Levin, "Greek with substrate phenomena, or a "jargon" - what is the difference?", Kadmos xi (1972) 129-39.

250. (1) Knossos (well over 3,000; c.1400-1375 B.C.): Chadwick-J. T. Killen -J.-P. Olivier, The Knossos Tablets^{4} (1971); (2) Pylos (over 1,200; c.1200 B.C.): E. L. Bennett, Jr., The Pylos Tablets (1955) and The Olive Oil Tablets of Pylos (1958); (3) Mycenae (more than 70; thirteenth centuryB.C.): Olivier, The Mycenae Tablets^{4} (1969); (4) Thebes (about 60; thirteenth century B.C.): Chadwick, Minos x (1969) 115-37; Th. Spyropoulos, AAA iv (1971) 32-7; and Olivier, AAA cit. 269-72 (addendum to Chadwick); (5) Tiryns (four fragments; date not supplied): L. Godart-J.-P. Olivier, AAA vii (1974) 25-6; (6)? Khania (four fragments; fourteenth or thirteenth century): I. Tzedakis, Kadmos xi (1972) 183-4 (perhaps Linear A).

251. J. Raison, Les vases à inscriptions peintes de l'age Mycénien et leur contexte archéologique (Incunabula Graeca xix, 1968); add most recently A. Sacconi, PdP xxvii (1972) 424-5 (Kreusis in Boeotia); Godart-Olivier, loc.cit. (n.250) (Tiryns).

252. Of the 90-odd signs, 73 are deciphered and 59 of these were in regular and frequent use.

253. Olivier, Les Scribes de Cnossos (1967); cf. Bennett, Athenaeum xxxvi (1958) 328-33 for the tentative identification of about 30 hands at Pylos. Figures for the other sites are of no consequence in view of the scarcity of finds.

254. The dating of the Knossos examples in particular has been the subject of a lively and often public controversy, summed up in (but by no means ended by) J. Boardman-L. R. Palmer, On the Knossos Tablets (1963); cf. S. Hood, The Minoans (1971) 112-5 (of wider interest too), 149-50. What is certain is that in all cases they can be little more than a few months, or at most a year, older than the conflagrations to which we owe their accidental preservation. See also n.261, below.

255. Notably E. Grumach, "The Coming of the Greeks", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library li (1968-9) 73-103, 400-30; S. Hood, The Home of the Heroes: the Aegean before the Greeks (1967) 122ff. But on the problems of identifying peoples and languages, see the strictures of McNeal, op.cit. (n.242) 20-2; and cf. C. Renfrew, "Problems in the general correlation of archaeological and linguistic strata in prehistoric Greece" in R. A. Crossland-A. Burchall, edd., Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean, (1973) 263-279; ibid., EC 55-8. The philological difficulties are compounded by the poor preservation of many tablets and by the kind of information they contain.

256. Bibliographies have been compiled by (among many others) B. E. Moon and L. Baumbach; current research is listed in Bennett, ed., Nestor (from 1957) and there are good recent "Forschungsberichte" by W. Merlingen, AAHG xxiv (1971) 1-34 and S. Hiller-O. Panagl, Saeculum xxii (1971) 123-94. The research, however, often displays a tendency to rush to premature judgements; Chadwick himself feels "obliged to protest against the facile guesswork which builds far-reaching hypotheses on slender evidence ...": DLB^2 101.

257. It is, however, worth stressing that the impulse for investigating these structures derived originally from a reading of Homer. I would not care to estimate how much impetus this impulse still receives from that source, but I hope that A. Parry in his introduction to Parry, MHV exaggerates when he writes (p.lx): "it is because we ... respond with such directness, such instinctive immediacy of understanding, to the greatness of the Homeric epics, that all this work of archaeology .... continues to take place"! Thus although the idea of Mycenaean monarchies (whose existence is demonstrated by the Pylos and Knossos tablets) was by no means unfamiliar, their nature, as revealed in the tablets, caused some scholars a measure of embarrassed surprise.

258. See the useful summary accounts of the Mycenae buildings by Wace, Archaeology vi (1953) 75-81 and N. Verdhelis, Archaeology xiv (1961) 12-17; but I believe it is wrong to describe them as "private houses".

259. Dr. Catling re-excavated the extensive Mycenaean settlement on the Menelaion hill (no.5 in the Chronological Table, Appendix V) in May/June 1973: see I.n.385; on the possible historical implications of the site, see below.

260. Dow, ALCC 109-147, at p.139. This is perhaps the best short survey of the whole subject. It is summarised (and supplemented by material of a different nature) in Dow, CAH^3; but this has been heavily criticised by J. T. Hooker, JHS xcii (1972) 225-6.

261. For the organisation of the archives, see Chadwick, BICS v (1958) 1-5; Diogène xxvi (1959) 9-23; Studia Mycenaea (Brno, 1966) 11-21. As he says in Dow-Chadwick, op.cit. 616-7, "Clay was a second-class writing material in Greece". (Permanent records may have been consigned to papyrus and epistolary communications to wax). Certainly the Linear B script was not most easily or naturally executed in clay, and in this respect it contrasts strongly with near Eastern cuneiform writing. See further n.267, below.

262. Dow, ALCC 120; cf. Chadwick in Dow-Chadwick, op.cit. (n.260) 609-26. But see now Olivier, "Une loi fiscale Mycénienne", BCH xcviii (1974) 23-35.

263. Cereals, olive oil, and wine were presumably the staples everywhere in Mycenaean Greece: Renfrew, EC 288-97; for the cultivation of the vine in Lakonia, see K. F. Vickery, Food in Early Greece (1936) 32, 59. At Pylos, however, there was apparently also a determined orientation towards flax (Chadwick, DLB^2 152) and at Knossos towards wool (Killen, BSA lix (1964) 1-15). For Pylian metalworking, see M. Lejeune, "Les forgerons de Pylos", Historia x (1961) 409-34.

264. K. Wundsam, Die politische und soziale Struktur in den mykenischen Residenzen nach den Linear B Texten (Diss. Wien, 1968). But see also n.267, below.

265. The dialectal significance of the tablets is much contested among philologists: for a useful mise au point, see A. Bartonek, "Greek dialects in the Second Millennium B.C.", Eirene ix (1971) 49-67, esp. 59-61. Influential (but rather one-sided) articles by E. Risch and Chadwick are reprinted in Kirk, LBH 90-118; for later modifications, see Risch, "Frühgeschichte der griechischen Sprache", MH xvi (1959) 215-27; Chadwick, CAH^3. For a splendid polemic against drawing sweeping inferences from the tablets, see A. Lesky, AAHG xvii (1964) 138, where he cites with approval Sp. Marinatos, "Zur Entzifferung der mykenischen Schrift", Minos iv (1956) 11-21. On the Doric dialect, see (d) below.

266. Meanwhile L. A. Stella, La Civiltà Micenea nei Documenti Contemporanei (Incunabula Graeca vi, 1967) 232 n.20, 235 n.30 has suggested the identification of Lakonian goddesses in the tablets; and for the mentions of Kythera and its possible slave-market, see I. n.657.

267. The documentary activity of the "cuneiform civilisations" is usefully summarised by G. Goossens, "Introduction à l'archivéconomie de l'Asie antérieure", Revue d'Assyriologie xlvi (1952) 98-107; and E. Posner, Archives in the Ancient World (1972) ch.2. The problem of correctly characterising the political and economic structure of the (tablet-using) Mycenaean state can only be complicated by the use of misleading analogies or loose terminology, in particular by introducing the notion of feudalism: see M. I. Finley, "The Mycenaean Tablets and Economic History", Economic History Review^2 x (1957-8) 128-41, esp. 139-41; my own definition of feudalism coincides with that of I. M. Diakonoff in his editorial introduction to Ancient Mesopotamia (1969) 15-16. A far

more useful analogy is with the palace-economies of the near East: for bibliography, see Starr, OGC 46 n.5, but he has missed Diakonoff, Society and State in Ancient Mesopotamia, Sumer (1959: Russian text, English summary), of which "The Rise of the Despotic State in Ancient Mesopotamia" in Diakonoff, ed., Ancient Mesopotamia (1969) 173-203, is a shortened version. Marx's concept of what he called the "Asiatic mode" is discussed by among others K. Wittfogel, Oriental Despotism (1957), who places the Mycenaean civilisation on the margins of the "Hydraulic" world: see P. Vidal-Naquet, "Karl Wittfogel et le concept de 'Mode de Production asiatique'", Annales (ESC) xix (1964) 531-49; cf. E. J. Hobsbawm, Introduction to Karl Marx, Precapitalist Economic Formations (1964) 32ff.; M. I. Finley, The Ancient Economy (1973) 182 n.39.

268. The Danauna land mentioned in a letter of the Amarna period (c. 1375 or 1373-1361 or 1352: on this, see most recently C. Aldred, CAH ii^3, ch.19 (fasc. 71, 1971)) has been linked with the Denyen who fought against Rameses III (see n.276): W. F. Albright, "The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre", Journal of Egyptian Archaeology xxiii (1937) 190-203; CAH ii^3, ch. 33 (fasc. 51, 1966) 25. Both have been connected with Homer's Danaoi: see the full but tendentious discussion by M. C. Astour, Hellenosemitica (1965) ch.1. The identification of the Akaiwasha/Ekwesh, who fought against Merneptah (see n.275), with Homer's Achaeans is rejected by Page, HHI 21-2 n.1, on the (to me dubious) grounds that the former are circumcised; but he accepts (HHI ch.1) - and builds far-reaching conclusions on his acceptance - that the latter are the Ahhijawa of the Hittite documents: for the course of this controversy, see A. Goetze, CAH ii^3, ch.21(a) (fasc. 37, 1965) 38-9. All future discussions, however, will have to take account of H. Otten, Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwatta-Textes (1969), whose earlier dating, if correct, would remove some of the documents that are fundamental to Page's reconstruction well beyond the reach of even the highest of the traditional dates for the Trojan War.

269. Rhys Carpenter, DGC 45.

270. G. Cadogan is preparing a study of Minoan and Mycenaean foreign relations; meanwhile see his "Mycenaean Trade", BICS xvi (1969) 152-4; and J. Vercoutter, Essai sur les relations entre Egyptiens et Préhellènes (1954) esp. ch.1.

271. H. Kantor, "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.", AJA 1i (1947) 1-103; W. S. Smith, Interconnections in the Ancient Near East (1965); Fr. Schachermeyr, Ägäis und Orient (1967).

272. All absolute dates derive ultimately from a combination of Egyptian historical documents and calendars with modern astronomical determinations: for a simplified account, see R. A. Parker, "The Calendars and Chronology" in J. R. Harris, ed., The Legacy of Egypt^2 (1971) 13-26; in more detail Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950). For the most recent bibliography, see W. C. Hayes, CAH^3 i.1 (1970) 637-9, 645-6. For the date of Qadesh, see Thomas, NEMEC i.2-3 and the works cited there.

273. Bibliography is supplied by J. A. Wilson in Pritchard, ANET^3 255 ("No other text occupies so much wall space in Egypt and Nubia"!); for translation and commentary, see A. H. Gardiner, The Kadesh Inscriptions of Rameses II (1960).

274. Both the Egyptian and Hittite versions are preserved: Wilson and Goetze in Pritchard, ANET^3 199-203 (bibliography, translation and commentary). For the form of the oath, which may be the ancestor of certain Greek examples, see de Ste. Croix, OPW 298-302, esp. 298 n.1.

275. J. H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt iii (1906) 241-8; Wilson in Pritchard, ANET^3 376-8. For the K-w-sh (the vowelless hieroglyphic for Akaiwasha or Ekwesh), see n.268.

276. Wilson in Pritchard, ANET^3 262-3 (bibliography and partial translation). See further Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs (1961) ch. 11; R. Faulkner, CAH ii^3, ch.2 (fasc. 52, 1966) 28-9. The lower dating of Rameses' reign (see n.272) would seriously affect the reconstruction of the events of this period.

277. K. Bittel, Hattusha: the capital of the Hittites (1970) esp. 123-133, with extensive bibliography on pp.159-68.

278. Astour, "New Evidence on the Last Days of Ugarit", AJA lxix (1965) 253-8; M. Drower, "Ugarit", CAH ii^3, ch.21 (b) (fasc. 63, 1968) esp. 17-19; J. Nougayrol, Ugaritica v (1968) 79ff., 105-7.

279. L. Woolley, Alalakh: an account of the excavations at Tell Atchana (1955) esp. 369-76.

280. H. W. Catling, CAH ii^3, ch.22 (b) (fasc. 43, 1966) 58-62; C. Schaeffer, Ugaritica v (1968) 695ff. The identification of Alasia with part or the whole of Cyprus is no more than probable, but it is well defended by J. D. Muhly, "Alashiya in the Texts of the Second Millennium", Praktika tou prōtou diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou i (1972) 201-19 (I owe this reference to Mr. Desborough). For the destruction at Enkomi, see P. Dikaios, "The Context of the Enkomi Tablets", Kadmos ii (1963) 39-52, at p.40. The recently discovered evidence for a contemporary multiple sea-battle between the Hittites and Alasia is discussed by H. G. Güterbock, JNES xxvi (1967) 73-81.

281. Bibliography and an up-to-date survey of the pottery evidence is given by V. Hankey, "Mycenaean Pottery in the Middle East", BSA lxii (1967) 107-147, s.v. Carcemish (no.1); Tell Sukas (no.8); Hazor (no.23); (?) Tell Abu Hawam (no.25); Tell Taanak (no.29); Tell Qasile (no.38);(?) Tell Zippor (no.38b); Tell ed Duweir (no. 51). See also P. J. Riis, Hama ii.3. Les Cimetières à Crémation (1948); N. K. Sandars in Fest. C.F.C. Hawkes 3-29, esp. 23; Schaeffer, Ugaritica v (1968) 731ff.

282. See the works cited in Hope Simpson-Waterhouse, BSA lvi (1961) 170 n.312; Starr, OGC 54 n.6. But Hankey now suggests a date of c. 1350 on the evidence of LH IIIB imports to Amarna: "The Aegean Deposit at El Amarna" in The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean (1973) 128-36.

283. See e.g. C. Blegen, "Preclassical Greece: a survey", BSA xlvi (1951) 23. The sequence was first established by his own excavations at Korakou (published 1928).

284. The Mycenaean Pottery i. Analysis and Classification ii. The Chronology (1941) (hereafter MP): see the important reviews by Schachermeyr, Klio n.f. xviii (1944) 127-9; F. Matz, Gnomon xix (1943) 225-42.

285. See the critical remarks of Wace, "The History of Greece in the Third and Second Millenniums B.C.", Historia ii (1953) 89-90.

286. The dates given by J. Bérard, "Recherches sur la chronologie de l'époque mycénienne", MAI xv.1 (1950) 1-66, are too high: see the review by Wace, Gnomon xxvii (1955) 523-5. See rather F. H. Stubbings, "Chronology: the Aegean Bronze Age", CAH^3 i.1 (1970) 239-47, esp. 241, 245-6 and bibliography on p.645; succinct and persuasive is Thomas, NEMEC i. 84-6; ii, Chart II. 7a-b; cf. i.62-3 (Egypt), 64-6 (Palestine), 68-9 (Syria) with Charts II.1,2,3. Some of the significant contexts are collected in Starr, OGC 54 n.5. For the Egyptian calculations, see n.272.

287. For the initial date, see n.282; for the III B/C transition, see M. B. Rowton, CAH^3 i.1 (1970) 237-8;and Desborough, LMTS 237-41.

288. See the series of articles by Mrs. E. French in BSA lviii (1963) 44-52 (summary of groups, mainly IIIB); BSA lxi (1966) 216-38 (III B1); BSA lxii (1967) 149-93 (III B1 Destruction Contexts); BSA lxiv (1969) 71-93 (IIIB2); AA 1969, 133-6 (IIIB/C).

289. See Desborough, GDA ch.19; for technological questions, see n.41.

290. "Developed LH IIIB is the great period of the koine and mass production": Wace, BSA lii (1957) 222.

291. Hope Simpson, Gazetteer is the most convenient collection to date; it is in process of revision.

292. For LH IIIB cist-graves at Mazaraki and elsewhere, see I. Votokopoulou, AE 1969, 179-207. Their potential historical significance will be further assessed in (d).

293. For western Asia Minor,see F. Cassola, La Ionia nel Mondo Miceneo (1957) 137-40; Starr, OGC 51 n.2; Hope Simpson, Gazetteer, fig.3; Bittel, MDOG xcviii (1967) 118ff.; the most recent excavations and publications are reported in J. M. Cook-D. J. Blackman, AR 1970-1, 33-62, and M. J. Mellink, AJA lxxv (1971) 168-70, lxxvi (1972) 175-6, lxxvii (1973) 177-8; lxxviii (1974) 114-5. For Cilicia and the Levant, see Stubbings, Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant (1951); M. V. Seton-Williams, Anat. Stud.iv (1954) 34ff.; Hankey, op.cit.(see n.281); see also the summary in Bouzek, HG 76-9, with fig.28. For Cyprus, see Catling, op.cit.(see n.280) 56-8 (I agree that "it was the repeated visits of Aegean trading ships .... not the presence of Achaean colonies, that was responsible for the proliferation of Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB pottery in Cyprus"; cf. Riis, "The First Greeks in Phoenicia and their settlement in Sukas", Ugaritica vi (1970) 435); V. Karageorghis in H.-G. Buchholz-V. Karageorghis, Altägäis und Altkypros (1971) 134-8, 152-4.

294. Lord W. Taylour, Mycenaean Pottery in Italy and Adjacent Areas (1958); G. E. Daniel-J. D. Evans, "The Western Mediterranean", CAH^3 ii, ch.37 (fasc. 57, 1967) 10-11 (Italy), 23-5 (Sicily); F. Biancofiore, Civiltà micenea nell' Italia meridionale^2 (Incunabula Graeca xxii, 1967) esp. 43-82; Bouzek, HG 80-1, with fig.29; L. Vagnetti, "I Micenei in Italia: La Documentazione Archeologica", PdP xxv (1970) 359-80. There is a useful booklet entitled I Micenei in Italia (Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 1967) covering Italy, Sicily, and the Aeolian islands (list of sites, with brief bibliography).

295. An important contribution, from the point of view of method, has been made by Renfrew, EC 455-74, esp.460-71. See also n.373.

296. R. Higgins, Minoan and Mycenaean Art (1967) 114 comments: "It seems that the vase-painters were living on the capital laid up by Cretan craftsmen ..." See also Catling, Archaeometry iv (1961) 32-3, with my n.298.

297. Blegen-Wace,"Pottery as evidence for Trade and Colonisation in the Aegean Bronze Age", Klio xxxii (1939) 136, 143-4.

298. For the technique, see briefly Catling-E. E. Richards-A. E. Blin-Stoyle, "Composition and provenance of Mycenaean and Minoan Pottery", BSA lviii (1963) 94-115. Lakonia was represented in the original sample by scrapings from Ayios Stephanos (serial no.25), which proved to belong to the "Peloponnesian" Group A, whose members are not apparently interdistinguishable: see the "General Observations" (pp.111-2); (but it is not clear to me what force the inferences are intended to have). The method has been challenged, but see the replies by A. Millett-H. W. Catling, Archaeometry ix (1966) 92-7 and xi (1969) 3-20 (with full bibliography to date on p.20). Indeed, there is apparent confirmation of the correctness of the method from an independent source: G. Harbottle, "Neutron Activation Analysis of potsherds from Knossos and Mycenae", Archaeometry xii (1970) 23-34, with a "Postscript" (p.33) by Catling. For a progress report, see Millett-Catling, Archaeometry x (1967) 70-7; but note that sherds from Pylos were of a new type P (p.75) and that sherds from Kythera have been added to the sample (p.72); cf. E. T. Hall in R. H. Brill, ed., Science and Archaeology (1971) 156-61, fig.11 (sites from which samples have been taken).

299. Kilns have been excavated at Berbati: for bibliography and discussion, see Åkerström, EMF 38ff., esp.40; Å. Åkerström, "A Mycenaean Potter's Factory at Berbati near Mycenae", Atti e Memorie del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia i (Incunabula Graece xxv, 1968) 48-53.

300. Blegen-Wace, op.cit. (see n.297) 136 noted the resemblance between the fabric of LH II vases from the Vaphio tholos (SMC 551) and Lakonian orientalising ware (the clay is described, accurately, as "rather soft pinkish buff"). Miss Demakopoulou, BSA lxvi (1971) 99-100 describes a certain type of clay and red lustrous paint as "typical of much Laconian Mycenaean pottery". The student who is familiar with post-Mycenaean Greek pottery would most naturally expect regional stylistic differentiation to be displayed in the treatment of decoration, but the great majority of IIIB vases are decorated only with standardised and highly stylised abstractions of originally Cretan animal- and plant-motifs; and, as is made clear by Miss Demakopoulou in the article just cited, it is not yet possible to distinguish a "pictorial" style peculiar to Lakonia.

301. For what follows, see I.vi passim; bibliographical references are given in the introduction to that section.

302. I owe this estimate to a personal communication from Prof. Hope Simpson, who stressed the difficulties of surveying solo and without private transport. Mrs.Waterhouse has kindly pointed out that Roman builders were responsible for the obliteration of earlier evidence on a number of sites (see e.g. I.n.472). My own efforts were confined, for lack of time and money, to the area around Sparta.

303. The limitations are expressly recognised by Renfrew, "Patterns of population growth in the Prehistoric Aegean", in P. J. Ucko et al., edd., Man, Settlement and Urbanism (1972) 383-399; but he merely draws the conclusion that in the circumstances inter-regional comparisons may be seriously misleading and not, as I would, that even figures for developing intraregional settlement-patterns are statistically insignificant. In connection with Lakonia, I would make the following criticisms of his paper: (1) A 50% coverage of the region leaves too great a margin of error, in the absence of corroborative excavation; (2) Mycenaean pottery is peculiarly distinctive in its shapes, and finds will tend to distort the relationship between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age settlement-patterns; (3) Some classes of Mycenaean pottery are more distinctive than others (see text, below); (4) There is no evidence from Lakonia to support the statement that Late Bronze Age Aegean settlements were "of urban or proto-urban nature". See also n.343.

304. A.Furtwängler, JdI xxxiii (1918) 109 and n.1, describes how swiftly the then recently uncovered stone blocks from the Vaphio tholos and Amyklai were given a new lease of life by the local people; presumably this was due not so much to a shortage of suitable building-stone (see Appendix II. A(11)) as to their different level of motivation or technology. For the same process in antiquity, see W. Leaf, "Troy", in H. Lunn, ed., Aegean Civilisations^4 (1929) 71.

305. Appendix V, nos. 7,9,14,17,20,23,30,31,32,36,44,54,57,62,101,102, 103. These vessel-types would form a part, but presumably not the whole, of the normal range of eating and drinking vessels in a small Mycenaean community.

306. See e.g. Vermeule, GBA 299-301; Bouzek, HG 64-5; Kurtz-Boardman, GBC ch.1.

307. None is yet securely dated: Renfrew, EC 110 suggests they are Early Bronze Age; since they are intramural, it is possible that they held infant-burials: A. Harding-G. Cadogan-R. Howell, BSA lxiv (1969) 123-5; cf. Harding, Archaeology xxiii (1970) 248-50.

308. This question is of considerable importance in view of the difficulty of detecting newcomers in southern Greece in the late Bronze and early Iron Ages: see further (d) and n.518.

308a. See n.357.

309. For LH III burials, see the table in Taylour, BSA lxvii (1972) 239; B.12-15 is the only certain LH IIIB cist-burial. For the distribution of Mycenaean cists and other single inhumations, see Snodgrass, DAG 181 (map).

310. Marinatos, Ergon for 1960, 149-52; McDonald-Rapp, MME no.201; for the historical problem posed by the contiguity, see Finley, EGBAA 55, and for a possible solution McDonald, PP 340. Geraki (no.21) may also have been fortified, but the settlement on the Menelaion hill (no.5) apparently was not: on these see further below.

310a. See, however, n.419a.

311. See III.viii (b) and nn.1011ff.

312. Hope Simpson-Waterhouse, BSA lvi (1961) 175 write: "there is no reason to suppose that the Palace of Menelaus, when it is discovered, will prove far inferior to that of Agamemnon or Nestor" (my emphasis). See also n.257.

313. See n.263, above; but Oliva, SSP 16 (like his "authority" Kiechle, LS 9) is indulging in sheer fantasy when he writes: "excavation ... has revealed wine vessels, closed and signed, which were clearly ready for despatch ..."

314. BSA lxiv (1969) 71 n.1. See also n.316.

315. In a personal communication, Miss Demakopoulou writes: "I think that we have not got evidence from Laconia (i.e. deep bowls of group B) to divide the LH IIIB period into IIIB1 and IIIB2".

316. According to Mrs.French, BSA lxii (1967) 172 n.41, "... the Pylos pottery though often badly painted finds its closest parallels in the pottery of LH IIIB1 at Mycenae". Yet the excavators placed the destruction pottery of Pylos at the IIIB/C transition: Blegen - M. Lang, The Palace of Nestor i (1966) 421. One might well ask, with Mylonas, Hesperia xxxiii (1964) 373 (quoted approvingly by O. Broneer, Hesperia xxxv. 354 n.16): "When we say Mycenaean IIIB pottery, what exactly do we mean?"

317. Åkerström, EMF 148-50; Bouzek, HG 45-50; and now O. Dickinson, Antiquity xlviii (1974) 229 summarise the archaeological evidence; cf. Matz, "Die Katastrophe der mykenischen Kultur im Lichte der neuesten Forschungen", Atti del settimo congresso internazionale di Archeologia Classica i (1961) 197-209.

318. Blinkenberg, FGO 50 (Type I.7a) = III.iv(b) 7.A.1; cf. recently H. Hencken, Tarquinia, Villanovans and Early Etruscans ii (1968) 621-2, fig.497; Bouzek, HG 31, 33 with fig.11.

319. Examples of Blinkenberg's earliest types (I.2d; II.5e) also occur in the stratified deposit at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta: III.iv (b) 7.A.2-3, B.2-4. Cf. II.n.203. For heirlooms, see Snodgrass, DAG Index s.v.

320. For the "stratification", see II.ii above; the Mycenaean material is listed in n.40. Furtwängler, JdI xxxiii (1918) 127, was the first to point out the existence of the Late Mycenaean cult.

321. Cult-places: Hägg, op.cit. (see n.145); "goddess"-figurines: French, op.cit. (see n.40) 107-8; burial-customs: Kurtz-Boardman, GBC ch.1. These and other types of archaeological evidence, especially figural representations, are also fully considered by Nilsson (see next note).

322. M. P. Nilsson, "Der mykenische Ursprung der griechischen Mythologie", Fest. J. Wackernagel (1923) 137-42; The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology (1932, 1972); The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion^2 (1950). It should be pointed out that Nilsson belongs to the school of thought which emphasises the continuity between the Mycenaean and later phases of Greek civilisation; in respect of mythology at least, he has received recent support from Kirk, Myth 240. On this continuity in general and particularly in Lakonia, see further (d).

323. The best account is perhaps Stella, op.cit. (see n.266) ch.8; cf. M. Gérard-Rousseau, Les Mentions Religieuses dans les Tablettes Mycéniennes (Incunabula Graeca xxix, 1968).

324. Taylour, "Mycenae, 1968", Antiquity xliii (1969) 91-7; "New Light on Mycenaean Religion", Antiquity xliv (1970) 270-80; cf. also Mylonas, Ergon for 1972, 59-67; ibid., The Cult Center of Mycenae (1972) (in Greek).

325. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "A-TE-MI-TO and A-TI-MI-TE", Kadmos ix (1970) 42-7.

326. The bibliography on Apollo is enormous but conveniently summarised by W. Fauth, Der Kleine Pauly i (1964) s.v. In Sparta his epithet was Karneios and the month of that name was sacred: Samuel, GRC 90 and n.5,93.

327. Paus. iii. 19.2. The earliest surviving representation of warlike Apollo, if the identification is correct, is a LG terracotta head: best pictures in Zervos, CH figs. 145-6. See further III.vi and its n.879.

328. For a description of the ritual, see Athenaios iv. 138 ff., with M. Mellink, Hyakinthos (Diss. Utrecht, 1943). A. Brelich, Paides e Parthenoi (Incunabula Graeca xxxvi, 1969) exaggerates the initiatory aspect. For the legend of Hyakinthos in art, see H. Sichtermann, JdI lxxi (1956) 97-123.

329. How far was the assimilation achieved? Does the continued existence of both represent a compromise and, if so, by whom was it reached and what did it symbolise? B. C. Dietrich (in an unpublished paper, kindly shown to me by Professor J. V. Luce) has suggested some answers: Hyakinthos was already a Dorian cult-figure in the Late Bronze Age; the only recognisably intrusive (post-Bronze Age) elements in the Hyakinthia are Apolline and, discounting tendentious myth and legend, we should not regard the (Dorian) Spartans and (Achaean) Amyklaeans as ethnically distinct. I agree, so long as Dietrich does not mean to imply (as he certainly hints) that the IIIC worshippers at Amyklai were "Dorians" in the same sense as the immigrants who settled in Sparta in the PG period. And I wonder how Dietrich would explain Pohoidan (text and n.336, below)?

330. The essential bibliography is given by Dietrich; cf. W. Pötscher and H. von Geisau, Der Kleine Pauly ii (1966) s.v. "Hyakinthia" and "Hyakinthos". For his possible role as a deity of vegetation, see E. Rohde, Psyche i[9-10] (1925) 137-41; J. Wiesner, Olympos (1960) 77.

331. P. Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache (1896) 401-5; for the theory of an Anatolian origin, see also Schachermeyr, op.cit. (see n.271) 14ff., fig.4.

332. For the "coming of the Greeks", see n.255. According to the mythical account, Apollo killed Hyakinthos by an accidentally misdirected discus-cast; for the motif, see Kirk, Myth 188 (no.3), 190; cf. Starr, OGC 182, for the suggestion that myths of this type "may reflect dimly his (Apollo's) increasing popularity during the Dark ages". Singers in an age of illiteracy - see v (c) - were important members of the community and originally combined this function with those of the prophet and the doctor: Lloyd-Jones, JZ 72; in the historical period these specialists all enjoyed the particular patronage of Apollo.

333. The "Dorian" character of Apollo, strongly advocated by K. O. Müller, is of course a modern myth: Rawson, STET 323. He was probably of oriental derivation.

334. In favour of the identification are e.g. W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods (1950) 86; Rose, HGM[6] 142; and Desborough, GDA 280. But see n.329.

335. Samuel, GRC 93 (Sparta and Gythion), 291.

336. For Pohoidan, see F. Solmsen, "Vordorisches in Lakonien", Rh.Mus. n.f.lxii (1907) 332-3; F. Gschnitzer, "Zum Namen Poseidon", Serta Philologa Aenipontana vii-viii (1962) 13-18; P. Themelis, AD xxv.i (1970) 109-125. F. Hampl, "Die Ilias ist kein Geschichtsbuch", Serta Philologa Aenipontana vii-viii (1962) 46 and n.15, is confident that Agamemnon, who was worshipped with Zeus, was (like Menelaos and Helen, for example) a "gesunkener Gott", but Kirk, Myth 176-7 points out that the term is obsolete and the theory "a waste of time".

337. Nicholls, op.cit.(first article in n.152) 20-1.

338. For the dates see II.iii (d)-(e). J. M. Cook has suggested that, in the (archaeological) interim, worship took the form of a simple libation.

339. Respectively nos. 6,15,27,45,69,82,90, and 107.

340. The tholoi at Palaiokhori (no.85) are IIIB, but not comparable in size or importance; the two at Arkines (no.40) cannot be more precisely dated than LH III, while the rich tholos at Vaphio (no. 7) yielded nothing later than LH II, though it had been robbed.

341. Vermeule, GBA 120-36, esp. 127-30 (Vaphio); cf. Bouzek, HG 84-5. Most of the main geographical areas of Lakonia have so far failed to give evidence of tholoi. This may be in part due to the energy of later inhabitants in utilising the well-cut stones as building material (cf. n.304), but the contrast with Messenia remains strong. If rich Lakonian Mycenaeans expressed their wealth in other permanent ways, we are ignorant of them.

342. Nos. 7,9,14,17,20,23,25,28,30,31,32,36,44,54,57,59,62,94,101,102, 103.

343. See the summary in Hope Simpson-Waterhouse, BSA lvi (1961) 170-3, with fig.25. Renfrew, EC 225-262 and op.cit. (see n.303), has the confidence - which I am far from sharing - to assign approximate absolute figures to Bronze Age population in Lakonia (and elsewhere). The only Late Bronze Age site in Lakonia, of whose size we can be reasonably certain, is Pavlopetri: this is at least 45,000 sq.m. in area, or over twice as large as the average size of a Late Bronze Age Aegean settlement assumed by Renfrew (20,000 sq.m.). Since we have no other comparable evidence - estimates based on sherd-scatter in my opinion have little scientific value (e.g. 200,000 sq.m. seems utterly disproportionate for Palaiopyrgi (no.7)) - we do not know whether Pavlopetri was (relatively) large, medium or small. Undeterred, Hope Simpson has classified 90 Late Bronze Age sites in Messenia (some merely tomb-sites) as either Small, Small-Medium, Medium, Medium-Large or Large: see Loy, LN 149-155 (Appendix). The project was self-confessedly subjective, and indeed a cursory comparison of particular classifications with the evidence supporting them reveals no strict correlation; in other words, the evidence of

sherd-scatter was - correctly, as I believe - not taken to be decisive. Other factors (available water-supply, extent of arable land, strategic/commercial position, etc.) are equally considerable. Thus Renfrew's estimate of 50,000 inhabitants for Late Bronze Age Lakonia may or may not approximate to the truth, although I should suppose it to be an overestimate. Cf. generally McDonald-Rapp, MME 254-6 and Index s.v. "Population".

344. Nos. 16,21,29,35,37,40,52,55,56,61,64,70,79,83,84,91,92,93,97,98, 104,106,107 (Vithoulas, Ay. Demetrios, Lioni); there are noticeably fewer of these in the Eurotas valley than elsewhere, but this may be simply due to the cultural accident referred to in the text and n.305, which makes it relatively easier to pick out (and up) IIIB than IIIA or C.

345. But it still falls a long way short of the number of Messenian sites found (168 min., 195 max.) or estimated to have existed in LH times (c.250): McDonald-Rapp, MME 139,255. But see n.351 for the certainly IIIB sites.

346. McDonald-Hope Simpson, AJA lxxiii (1969) 175 : "it is quite safe to assert that in LH IIIB a great many more people lived in Messenia than ever before". I agree, but do not feel the purely material evidence is adequate to prove the assertion; on the same page they write: "there are many sites (especially in the interior) that were settled in MH but for which we cannot yet document use in LH I-IIIA, as opposed to IIIB. Yet it is unlikely that they had been abandoned in the interim"; cf. ibidd. in McDonald-Rapp, MME 137. It is rather the concentration of economic activity on the "Palace of Nestor", with the great degree of specialisation that this entailed, which speaks for the high level of prosperity and density of settlement in southwestern Peloponnese in IIIB. I am unwilling to make unguarded assertions about Lakonia until comparable evidence of unification and centralisation is forthcoming.

347. I agree, however, with Vermeule, "The Decline and End of Minoan and Mycenaean Culture", ALCC 84, that "many may never have visited a palace". This may well be true even of those who lived in a region which may fairly be held to have been controlled by a palace; cf. the article of Levin cited in n.249a. It is salutary to reflect that without the Linear B tablets we would have little direct evidence of even the existence of the "broad Mycenaean masses".

348. Nos. 8,15,25,33,57,69,90.

349. Nos. 5,21,30,34,39,44,45,54.

350. On IIIC pottery in general, see Desborough, LMTS 9-28. The material is insufficient to isolate a local Lakonian IIIC style.

351. In Messenia and Triphylia I count 66 IIIB and 13 certain (3 more possible) IIIC sites: McDonald-Rapp, MME 264-309 (Register A); too much emphasis should not of course be placed on these figures precisely. It is the general conclusion (p.143) that "in the twelfth and eleventh centuries this fertile and well-watered area was occupied by scarcely more than 10 per cent of the people who had lived there in the thirteenth century B.C." that demands attention.

352. For the stratigraphy of Anthochorion, see iii(d).

353. French, op.cit. (see n.40) 139; but, as she adds in parenthesis, they are not certainly Mycenaean.

354. I am indebted to Miss Demakopoulou for showing me a photograph of this remarkable vase.

355. Ålin, EMF 96-7, was the first to notice them; the precise quantity was determined by Miss Demakapoulou.

356. See Appendix I.C (iv) and F.

357. S. Hood, "Isles of Refuge in the Early Byzantine Period", BSA lxv (1970) 42; cf. his "An Aspect of the Slav Invasions of Greece in the Early Byzantine Period," Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae xx (1966) 168. Another obvious place of refuge was Taygetos, and the story of Minyans in Taygetos (Hdt. iv. 145ff.: see I.vi.§5, s.v. "Arkines" (no.40)) may have a factual basis, however distorted over time. The other simple escape-route was down the Eurotas valley to the Gythion area and some of the sherds from Mavrovouni (no.45) are indeed IIIC.

358. See most recently Desborough, GDA 80-3, 332-4, 339-40.

359. Desborough, GDA 81, is very cautious, but the vases are certainly sub-Mycenaean, even if we explain the style as a purely local phenomenon of internal degeneration.

360. I have even wondered whether the inhabitants might have decided the interior was once more reasonably secure and returned to their places of origin; if they did, their movement cannot now be traced.

361. See n.144.

362. See the by now somewhat outdated table in Ålin, EMF 148.

363. Desborough, LMTS ch.4; GDA 87ff. For the traditional participation of Lakonians, see J. K. Anderson, BSA xlix (1954) 73 (Achaia); E. Gjerstad, Op.Ath. iii (1944) 107-23 (Cyprus); G. L. Huxley, ES 18 and GRBS xii (1971) 506 (Crete).

364. See the references in n.317. More recently R. J. Buck, "The Mycenaean Time of Troubles", Historia xviii (1969) 276-298, and Snodgrass, DAG 296-327, have set out the evidence very fully, including non-archaeological material, and considered a number of possible explanations; their contributions will be assessed below.

365. As Vermeule, ALCC 85, has observed: "So many distant parts of the ancient world could not have identical civil or military histories which would be easy to interpret after three thousand years".

366. DGC: on p.67 he concludes that "a 'time of troubles' was occasioned by climatic causes that brought persistent drought with its attendant famine to most of mainland Greece; and it was this unlivable condition of their native abode that forced the Mycenaeans to emigrate".

367. See the reviews cited in I.n.134 and especially H. E. Wright,Jr., "Climatic Change in Mycenaean Greece", Antiquity xlii (1968) 123-7,who impugns the atmospheric mechanism invoked by Carpenter; add now Loy-Wright in McDonald-Rapp, MME ch.3. The pollen diagram

worked out by Wright, however, is not so conclusive against Carpenter as it might appear; Loy, LN 43 deserves to be quoted at some length: "the incontrovertible fact remains that climatic alterations of sufficient magnitude to disrupt a cereal-growing economy are possible, even occasionally probable, in a Mediterranean climate. Moreover, changes of this magnitude would not necessarily be evident in the geomorphologic or palynologic records ... It is unlikely that drought will ever be proven as the cause of the Mycenaean downfall, but it is even less likely that it will be disproven as a major or at least contributing cause for the apparent depopulation of the southwest Peloponnese during the sub-Mycenaean period". The only available relevant evidence seems to be the information contained in the Linear B tablets, but I do not believe (pace the authors cited in n.372) it is possible to say whether or not they signify that all was well in c.1200 B.C. Bouzek, HG 85-7, typically but usefully seeks to correlate the climatic and demographic "data" from central and southeast Europe.

368. Nougayrol, op.cit.(see n.278).

369. E. Watson-Williams, "The End of an Epoch", Greece and Rome ix (1962), 109-125.

370. See e.g. Schachermeyr, "Materialen zur Geschichte der ägäischen Wanderung in Kleinasien", AM xli (1916) 375-426; but note K. Bittel, Kleinasiatische Studien (1942) 67ff. I cannot agree with Schachermeyr, Der Kleine Pauly iii (1969) s.v. "Mykenische Kultur" 1512, that Monemvasia (Epidauros Limera) was one of the "wichtigste Plätze dieser Fremdvölkerherrschaft".

371. See, however, Schaeffer, op.cit. (n.281). Rameses III (see n.276) was of course attempting to magnify the scale of his somewhat Pyrrhic victory. The idea of history as a true record is not an "oriental" achievement: Starr, AGHS 26-7; see further (c) below.

372. L. R. Palmer, "Military Arrangements for the Defence of Pylos", Minos iv (1956) 120-145, has interpreted the oka series of Pylos tablets as recording preparations against an expected attack by sea; but it is by no means certain that these preparations were not routine (Pylos was unfortified) or that the prospective aggressors were the "Land and Sea Peoples". M. Lejeune in Vernant, PGGA 32-43, despite perfunctory warnings about uncertainties, makes a confident distinction between ad hoc and permanent military dispositions and lays special emphasis on Jn 829 (requisitioning of bronze from temple-stores). It should also be noted that the maritime disruption at any rate cannot have been either total or longlasting, for the "Aegean koine" (see n.358) retained a measure of prosperity and mutual contact.

373. It is by no means certain that most or even much of the Bronze Age Mediterranean carrying-trade was conducted in Greek ships, but for the archaeological evidence, see Marinatos, "La marine créto-mycénienne", BCH lvii (1933) 170-235; Casson, SSAW ch.3, esp. 30-2. The nationality of the ship wrecked off Cape Gelidonya c.1200 B.C. is uncertain, but perhaps Syrian or Palestinian: the full publication is G. F. Bass, ed., Cape Gelidonya: a Bronze Age Shipwreck (Trans. Am. Philosoph. Soc. n.s. lvii, 1967); cf. briefly Bass, Archaeology under Water (Penguin, 1972) 125-32. It could perhaps be argued that the need for metals might have impelled Greeks to take to the sea, but the equally crucial Athenian corn-supply of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. was by no means solely in Athenian hands, although the fleet that guaranteed the safe conduct of merchantmen was supported by the Athenian state treasury and largely manned by poor Athenian citizens: see now Meiggs, AE esp. 205-6, 439-41.

374. Stubbings, "The Recession of Mycenaean Civilisation", CAH^3 ii, ch. 27 (fasc. 39, 1965) 20.

375. If Mycenaeans, they could be either the common people in opposition to the palace-bound ruling-class in each region or disaffected members of the ruling stratum and their supporters or rulers (or coalitions of rulers) of other localities. No doubt other possibilities might be canvassed, but these seem to be the most obvious: bibliographical references for the various theories can be found in Mylonas, MMA ch.9 or Buck, op.cit. (see n.364).

376. This sentence of course disguises a parti pris, since there have been many scholars who think they know both who was responsible for the destructions and what alterations in cultural practice they effected or stimulated or brought with them: see further (c) and (d) below.

377. Broneer, Atti di settimo congresso internazionale di archeologia classica i (1961) 243-9; "The Cyclopean Wall on the Isthmus of Corinth", Hesperia xxxv (1966) 346-62 (which raises the wider issues too); Hesperia xxxvii (1968) 25-35.

378. At its narrowest the Isthmus is 6km. wide, but the wall, preserved only in sections, is in total less than 2km. long; it may of course never have been completed. The excavator himself had earlier suggested, in Hesperia xxiv (1955) 124, that at least part of the wall (and that the best preserved) was a retaining-wall for a road; cf. now Chr. Kardara, "The Isthmian Wall (A retaining wall for a road?)", AAA iv (1971) 85-9.

379. See n.316 and passim in the earlier part of v (b).

380. The fortification of citadels (see now N.C. Scoufopoulos, Mycenaean Citadels (1971)) and even the Isthmus wall could all be routine defensive operations, but the concern about water-supply at Athens and elsewhere may betoken fear of a special kind: Broneer, "A Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis", Hesperia viii (1939) 317-433, esp. 416-29.

381. The flight to Epidauros Limera, and perhaps Mavrovouni and Taygetos too, and the distribution of IIIC sites in Lakonia (except Pellana) seem also to favour a hypothesis of a land invasion from the north.

382. Sandars, op.cit. (see n.281) is a learned and wideranging "first impression of the bearing upon barbarian Europe of recent changes in the archaeological scene in the Aegean and the Near East". But, as far as I can see, she has merely added some fresh (barbarian) imponderables to the discussion. See further (d).

383. See n.372. It is disappointing that Chadwick, who is normally admirably cautious (see n.256), has also succumbed to the desire to know: see his contribution to Dow-Chadwick, CAH^3 ii.1 (1973) 622, where he infers the existence of a bronze-shortage from some Pylos tablets.

384. "Homer" and "Homeric poems" are used throughout without prejudice to refer to our Iliad and Odyssey. On textual questions, see n.472.

385. On the concept of "restricted" or "conditional" literacy, see Goody-Watt, CL 311-5; the most illuminating discussion of the likely fate of the Linear B script and its users is Dow, ALCC at pp. 117-22; but a negative cannot of course be proved.

386. The finest account of the possible occasion and the probable dating of its invention is Jeffery, LSAG 1-42; there is a useful bibliographical summary in Havelock, PTP 49-52 (n.4); and G. Pfohl, ed., Das Alphabet (Wege der Forschung lxxxviii, 1968) reprints a number of important writings. Coldstream, GGP 358-9, 379-80, has assessed the archaeological evidence for the dating; while R. S. Young, Hesperia xxxviii (1969) 252-96, and M. Lejeune, Kadmos ix (1970) 51-74, have discussed the relationship between the Greek and Phrygian alphabets.

387. For a more detailed consideration of the usefulness of recent work on oral tradition for the ancient historian, see Appendix VIII.

388. This specification, though rarely made, is necessary, because the concept of history as a true record of the past varies according to the interpretation of "truth" and the latter appears to be a both malleable and culture-bound concept; J. H. Plumb, The Death of the Past (1969) Introduction. See also n.406.

389. On ἱστορεῖν and ἱστορία used of the act of enquiry and the knowledge thus obtained, see W. Burkert in Lexikon der alten Welt (1965) s.v. "Historia". Herodotus (i Praef., 24.7, 56.1-2, 61.2, 122.1; ii.19.3, 29.1, 34.1, 44.5, 99.1, 113.1, 118.1, 119.3; iii. 50.3, 51.1, 77.2; iv.192.3; vii.96.1; cf. vii.195) borrowed the terms from his Ionian "natural philosopher" (φυσιολόγοι, σοφισταί) predecessors and applied them to a different ὕλη: see K. von Fritz, "Der gemeinsame Ursprung der Geschichtsschreibung und der exakten Wissenschaften bei den Griechen", Philosophia Naturalis ii (1952) 200-23, 376-9.

390. See the full (and friendly) discussion in de Ste. Croix, OPW 5-34, esp.5-7.

391. "Herodotus und Thukydides" (1971), reprinted in Deutsche Schriften iii.2 (1845) 591ff. According to Momigliano, "Friedrich Creuzer and Greek Historiography" (1946), SIH 76, his Die historische Kunst der Griechen in ihrer Entstehung und Fortbildung (1803, 1845^2) was "the first modern history of historiography". But note also Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière, Histoire des Histoires, avec l'idée de l'Histoire accomplie (1599). Butterfield, MOHP 2 nn.1-2, App.1.

392. The same notion is eloquently and forcefully expressed by Macaulay in his essay "History", published first in the Edinburgh Review for 1828 and partly reprinted in Stern, VOH^2 72-89, esp. pp.73-8.

393. Stern, VOH^2 57. Momigliano, SIH 216 suggests that the dictum was influenced by a memory of Thucydides, who was Ranke's favourite historian (Butterfield, MOHP 106). If this is correct, then Ranke shared Lucian's (De historia conscribenda 39) interpretation of Thucydides, and the arguments of de Ste. Croix (see n.390) have another powerful ancestral proponent. However, the exposure by P. Geyl, "Ranke in the light of the Catastrophe" (1952), Debates with Historians (Fontana, 1962) 9-29, of the tendentiousness of Ranke's claim should raise a doubt about Thucydides too; and E. J. Hobsbawm, "Karl Marx's Contribution to Historiography" (1968) in R. Blackburn, ed., Ideology in Social Science (1972) 256-8, has emphasised the stultifying narrowmindedness of the Rankean vision of history.

394. GG i.2^2 (1913) 7.

395. For the distinct activities of the "historian" and the "antiquarian", and a historical perspective on this restrictive practice (it went back to the fifth century B.C.), see Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian" (1950), SIH 1-39. The last great practitioner was perhaps Ed. Meyer, "Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte", Kl. Schr. i^2 (1924) 66.

396. That it was a development is proved by the work of Francesco Guicciardini, the great Florentine historian (1483-1540): see J. R. Hale, ed., Guicciardini ("The Great Histories", 1964) Intro., esp.§ v. But like Thucydides (with whom Gibbon ranked him), Guicciardini had to wait a long time for a worthy successor.

397. Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie. Mit Nachweis der wichtigsten Quelle und Hilfsmittel zum Studium der Geschichte (1894, 1908^2).

398. The most influential exponents among English ancient historians were G. Grote and G. C. Lewis: see Momigliano, "George Grote and the Study of Greek History" (1952), SIH 56-74; "G. C. Lewis, Niehbuhr e la critica delle fonti", Rivista storica Italiana lxiv (1952) 208-21; K. O. Bock, "History and a Science of Man. An appreciation of G. C. Lewis", JHI xii (1951) 599-607.

399. H. Berve, Gnomon iv (1928) 471. See the excellent appraisal of Beloch by K. Christ, Von Gibbon zu Rostovtzeff (1972) 248-85, esp.§ iv,at pp. 269-70.

400. I. Berlin, "History and Theory", HT i (1950) 1-31, points out that, in contrast to the scientist's "mechanical application of an interconnected tissue of generalizations to a situation mechanically specifiable as relevant" (p.11), the historian is typically called upon to exercise "judgment, a qualitative, quasi-intuitive form of thinking dependent on wide experience, memory, imagination...." (p.17). However, E. H. Carr, What is History? (1961) ch.3, argues convincingly that the gap between them is not so wide as Berlin and others suppose.

401. Myres-Gray, HHC 228.

402. See (d) below, init.

403. Jacoby, "Einleitung", F. Gr. Hist. IIIB Komm. (1955) 613-6 with Noten pp.355-60, provides an expert survey of ancient writings on the history of Sparta; cf. Tigerstedt, LSCA 19-28 and notes. It is sometimes asserted that the late third century B.C. Sosibios was a historian, but his Χρόνων Ἀναγραφή was "a short summary in not more than one book, intended as a basis for the antiquarian-philological studies of the grammarians of Spartan antiquities" (Jacoby 614).

404. For the "mirage" in antiquity, see F. Ollier, MS; Tigerstedt, LSCA is more thorough, but belies its title (being really little more than a conventional history of the "Quellenforschung" variety) and is not exactly shot through with penetrating originality. Far more enlightening and stimulating is Rawson, STET,who takes the story down to the end of the last World War. Usefully succinct is C. G. Starr, "The Credibility of Early Spartan History", Historia xiv (1965) 257-272. Regrettably, Momigliano has made few contributions specifically to Spartan historiography, but,for his generally fruitful approach,see Finley, HT vii (1968) 355-67.

405. This point, concerning the nature of Greek interest in the past, has been clearly expressed by Finley, MMH at pp. 299-302; cf. Butterfield, "History and Man's Attitude to the Past: their role in the story of civilisation" (Lecture delivered at S.O.A.S., 1961); and J. H. Plumb, The Death of the Past (1969), who distinguishes carefully between "the past" and "history".

406. Most notably the Hebrews'; but their method of selecting from the tradition those facts which fitted their interpretation of God's Order is of course alien to that of their Greek counterparts: see M. Burrows, "Ancient Israel" in R.C. Dentan, ed., The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East (1955) 99-131, esp. 128. Indeed, as Butterfield, op.cit. (n.405) 8 points out, the bulk of historiography hitherto had served as an "instrument of government" and comparison with its non-Greek antecedents reveals the singularity of the Greek achievement.

407. We have scant means of knowing how the Greek past - international or local, individual or collective - was represented before Homer or how far the surviving literature is in this respect representative of the generality of Greek opinion. In time learned scholars come to distinguish between a "mythical" and non-mythical past, although they differed over the dividing-line: see P. M. Fraser, "Eratosthenes", PBA lvi (1970) 175-207, at pp.190, 196-7; cf. Varro, De Gente Populi Romani fr.3 Peter. But the continuing creation of historical myths suggests that for the unenlightened majority stories about an undifferentiated past were all tied up in one conceptual bundle and stories about the present were not seen in essentially different terms. On the ramifications of the concept of myth, see n.416.

408. Jacoby, Atthis extends its compass far beyond the ostensible reference of its title and has not been superseded by von Fritz, GGS or Starr, AGHS. For brief surveys, see Jacoby, Klio ix (1909) 80-123; Forsdyke, GBH ch.7; K. Latte, Entretiens Hardt iv (1958) 3-20 (with discussion 21-37); Momigliano, TAH 13-18; further bibliography in Tigerstedt, LSCA 321-2 n.90; G. T. Griffith in Platnauer, FYTCS 183-241. I myself agree, on our present evidence, with Jacoby, Atthis 201, that "historical consciousness .... is not older than historical literature" and that historical literature is not older than Herodotus.

409. As P. Vidal-Naquet, Annales (ESC) xviii (1963) 714 exclaims, "Il est proprement stupéfiant qu'on soit obligé de poser cette question" (whether Homer was a historian). The negative response, to which I subscribe, does not of course entail the denial of all claims to historicity made for the poems; cf. n.442a.

410. The so-called Epic Cycle (see n.419a below) owes its existence to the felt deficiencies of Homer in this department. For the relative poverty of the Homeric vocabulary in causal prepositions and conjunctions, see Snell, DAGW 54.

411. H. Fränkel, "Die Zeitauffassung in der griechischen Literatur" (1931), Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens^3 (1969) 1-22; Starr, OGC 163 and n.3; AGHS 15, 22; Momigliano, TAH 8-9; see also generally Vidal-Naquet, "Temps des Dieux et Temps des Hommes", RHR clvii (1960) 55-80.

412. A. Lesky, "Göttliche und menschliche Motivation im homerischen Epos", Sitz. Heidelberg. Akademie 1961, 1-52. We need not, however, agree with the view of Snell, DM^2 20 and DG^2 24ff. (justly criticised by Lloyd-Jones, JZ 168 n.38) that, since Homer had no concept of a psychic whole, he could not conceive or describe a genuine choice or decision.

413. As Gomme, GAPH 17-18 points out, the criterion of successful epic poetry is effectiveness in narration not realistic veracity - nor, we might add, the elaboration of clear and consistent notions of causality, chronology and individual psychology.

413a. Hampl, op.cit. (see n.336) 39.

414. T. G. Rosenmeyer, "Hesiod and Historiography", Hermes lxxxv (1957) 257-85; and surprisingly Momigliano, TAH 1, who believes that "Hesiod even felt the burden of historical destiny"!

415. See the comments of Forsdyke, GBH 118; Snell, DM^2 138-40; Finley WO^2 47-9.

416. For a "structuralist" interpretation, see Vernant, "Le mythe hésiodique des races" (1960) and his reply to a critic (1966) in MPCG i.13-71; but like Finley, MMH 286, I am not convinced by Vernant's explanation of WD 174-5. The structuralist approach tends in any case to be unacceptable to the historian, because it regards a myth as the sum of all its variants and thereby obliterates the crucial disparateness of their particular contexts and sources: see E. R. Leach, Lévi-Strauss^2 (Fontana, 1974) ch. 4, at p.56; for a sounder critical method of reconstructing a myth, see Rose, HGM^6 9-10. "Myth", like "oral tradition" (see Appendix VIII), is too often used so loosely that it disguises sometimes mutually incompatible assumptions about the meaning of the term and the variety of the functions of myth in society. For my purposes I accept and find fruitful the definition of a myth as a traditional tale put forward by Kirk, Myth 74, 282 etc.; cf. his "Greek Mythology: some new Perspectives", JHS xcii (1972) 75 and n.5. The problems of typology and functions are conveniently and expertly surveyed by P. S. Cohen, "Theories of Myth", Man n.s.iv (1969) 337-53, esp.349 where he suggests that"(Myth) anchors the present in the past". P. Maranda, ed., Mythology (Penguin,1972) is a provocative selection of writings, with a stimulating introduction and useful bibliography: see esp. the readings in Part Two.

417. Vernant, "Les aspects mythiques de la mémoire et du temps" (1959), MPCG i. 80-107, esp. 80-8, 105-7; cf. M. Detienne, "La notion mythique d'ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ", REG lxxiii (1960) 27-35.

418. Snodgrass, DAG 10 and n.11 on p.22.

419. Hdt.ii.53 is misleading. Kirk, Myth 226-38 offers a good brief assessment; P. Walcot,Hesiod and the Near East (1966) somewhat exaggerates his indebtedness to oriental models (a point which will shortly be developed in print by Miss N. K. Sandars, with reference to the role of natural topography in myths). F. Krafft, Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Hesiod und Homer (1963) refutes the view that Homer and Hesiod were both wholly oral poets working within different traditions; cf. Lesky, AAHG xviii (1965) 19-21; and now G. P. Edwards, The Language of Hesiod in its traditional context (1971), with the review by G. Giangrande, JHS xcii (1972) 188-92. For the attribution of poems other than WD to Hesiod, see Starr, OGC 271 n.4.

419a. A. Sèveryns, Le Cycle Epique dans l'Ecole d'Aristarque (1928); cf. Huxley, GEP (but his assertion, p.85, that "a flourishing body of local legends in Lakedaimon .... came down from the Mycenaean age, preserved and elaborated by the .... Achaean survivors from the ruin of the bronze age civilisations of Peloponnese" takes the breath away). W. Burkert, "Die Leistung eines Kreophylos. Kreophylenheer, Homeriden und die archaische Heraklesepik", MH

xxix (1972) 74-85 discusses the context and channels of transmission of post-Homeric epic production, with special reference to the Oichalias Halosis. For the story that Lykurgos was responsible for bringing the Homeric poems from Samos to the mainland (Aristotle fr. 611.10 Rose; Plut., Lyk. iv.4; Ephoros, F. Gr. Hist. 70 F149§19), see Allen, HOT 48; and Burkert, op.cit. 77 nn.13-14.

420. The fragments of Kinaithon are collected in G. Kinkel, Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta i (1877) 196-8, 212. Full references to ancient and modern authors are given by R. Keydell, Der Kleine Pauly iii (1969) 214 s.v.; cf. Huxley, GEP 86-9.

421. For the connection with Herakles, most notoriously expressed in the myth of the "return of the Heraklidai", see (d), below; for the Orestes legend, see nn.429, 529 below.

421a. Eumelos of Corinth may have been "the first consciously to falsify myth and legend in the interest of the state" (my emphasis): Dunbabin, JHS lxviii (1948) 68; cf. Starr, OGC 345 and n.4.

422. Lloyd-Jones, JZ 37 is naturally anxious, in view of his main thesis (pp.xi, 158-60), to minimise the apparent contrast in spiritual climate between Homer and the later (surviving) poets who worked in more personal idioms; he therefore postulates the existence of e.g. lyric poetry before the first exponents whose work happens to have survived. To my mind this stress on continuity in cultural practice distorts the significance of the discontinuity represented by the invention of a new geographical, social and political framework for this practice (the polis) and fails to take account of the upheavals involved in the transplanting of the polis by Greek colonists both east and west; see Starr, OGC chs.9-11. For the polis in general, see Ehrenberg, GS^2 22-5, 88-102, 241-7; for that splendid representative of both personal poetry and the polis transplanted, Archilochus of Paros and Thasos, see most recently Peter Green, The Shadow of the Parthenon (1972) 152-69. I suggest that the rise of Ionian "natural philosophy" (see n.389 and text below), with its general emphasis on the availability and catholicity of knowledge, is also to be explained in large part by changed economic, political and social conditions.

423. The excellent edition of the texts by M. L. West, Iambi et Elegi Graeci ii (1971) 149-63 supersedes all others; C. Prato, Tirteo (1968) is a most helpful commentary. The authenticity of the poems has been virulently impugned by among others E. Schwartz, Hermes xxxiv (1899) 428-68, but should no longer be doubted: see Jaeger, TUWA 104ff. The language of Tyrtaios is an amalgam of epic, Dorisms and vernacular Ionic: K. J. Dover, Entretiens Hardt x (1964) 190-3; Snell, Tyrtaios und die Sprache des Epos (1969). His dating depends on that of the First Messenian Revolt (Second Messenian War): for a survey of this and other problems, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 45 ff.; and III. viii (b). I have considered the "Eunomia" fragments (1-4 West) and their relation to the "Great Rhetra" in Appendix XI.

424. The most useful editions are Page, PMG 2-91; LGS 2-28. For the problems surrounding his place of origin and language, see Page, Alcman. The Partheneion (1951) 102-70, and E. Risch, "Die Sprache Alkmans", MH xi (1954) 20-37; for his date, West, "Alcmanica I: The date of Alcman", CQ n.s. xv (1965) 188-94; F. D. Harvey, "Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2390 and Early Spartan History", JHS lxxxvii (1967) 62-73, at p.69. For all questions concerning his life and work, see now M. Treu, RE Supp. xi (1968) s.v.

425. Jaeger, TUWA has been three times reprinted, but as Lloyd-Jones, JZ 45 remarks, "When Jaeger claims that Tyrtaeus was trying to substitute a city-state morality for an aristocratic morality in Sparta, he has failed to notice that in Sparta the two kinds of morality were not distinct". (I agree with Lloyd-Jones here, but see n.422). See rather Gomme, "The interpretation of KAΛOI KAGATHOI in Thucydides 4.40.2", CQ n.s.iii (1953) 65-8; W. F. Otto, "Tyrtaios und die Unsterblichkeit des Ruhmes", Die Gestalt und das Sein^2 (1959) 365-98; Snell, DG^2 79-89,109,113-4, 153. Jaeger's interpretation of Tyrtaios is closely linked to his thesis that Greek education (Sparta being, as it so often is for modern scholars, the exception) had aristocratic beginnings and never lost its aristocratic orientation, but this has been rightly attacked by Bolgar, TEGE 23-6 (pp. 30-5 give an excellent brief account of Spartan society and the role and nature of education within it). R. Harder ran for a time with the stream of Nazi thought excellently described by Rawson, STET 339-43, but his "Die geschichtliche Stellung des Tyrtaios", Kl.Schr. (1960) 180-202, has been deservedly reprinted in G. Pfohl, ed., Die griechische Elegie (Wege der Forschung cxxix, 1972) 146-73.

426. As Bolgar, TEGE 27 points out, Alkman would have had no place at the court of Menelaos. For human inventiveness in Greek thought, see A. Kleingünther, Protos heuretes. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung (Philologus Supp. xxvi, 1933); K. Thraede, "Das Lob des Erfinders", Rh. Mus.cv (1962) 158-86; and in relation to art, S. Karousou, Annuario n.s. viii-x (1946-8) 37-46.

427. In addition to the works cited in n.424, above, see C. M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry^2 (1961) ch.2; P. Janni, La cultura di Sparta arcaica i (1965) 64-120; J. A. Davison, From Archilochus to Pindar (1968) ch.4. P. da Silva Pereire, who is preparing a doctoral thesis on Alkman's theogony, tells me in a personal communication that he regards Alkman as a "political" poet in the sense that he was unrivalled in "providing the Spartans not only with entertainment but also with an expression for their religious and heroic traditions"; he may even have composed "a genealogical account of the heroic (Herakles) and divine (Zeus) pedigree of the Spartan royal houses".

428. Bowra, CQ xxviii (1934) 115-9; GLP^2 112ff.; West, "Stesichorus Redivivus", ZPE iv (1969) at p.148. Sparta was also graced with the presence of that egregious reactionary Theognis of Megara (11.783-8, 879-84) shortly afterwards.

429. Full references in Tigerstedt, LSCA 372-3 nn.519-20 (but I do not follow him in his implied dichotomy between propagandistic and artistically worthwhile poetry: see G. Steiner,"Marxism and the Literary Critic" (1958), Language and Silence (Penguin, 1969) 271-90); cf. now de Ste. Croix, OPW 96-7.

430. See briefly Ehrenberg,FSTS^2 106-7, with bibliography in n.63 on p.416; add now E. L. Hussey, The Presocratics (1972) ch.2.

431. Vernant, "La formation de la pensée positive dans la Grèce archaïque" (1957), MPCG ii.95-124, at p.106.

432. Snell, DM^2 ch. 10; "Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Sprachein Griechenland", DAGW 41-56. Snell isolates three routes by which abstraction of expression - a condition of "scientific" thinking - was reached: substantivation; replacement of the description of an organ by that of its function; abstraction of proper names, especially of divine or demonic beings. On the language of science, cf. J. D. Bernal, Science in History^3 i (Penguin, 1969) 38.

433. Language, Thought and Reality (ed. D. G. Mandelbaum, 1956) 212. But this view, like most in the field of sociolinguistics, is highly controversial: for the varieties of current thinking, see the editorial introduction to Giglioli, LSC, which is a useful collection of readings.

434. See n.389. On Xenophanes of Kolophon (fr.30D), Snell, DM^2 139-40 writes: "Here we have the new notion that men acquire their knowledge through their own striving, that even though they may never arrive at complete enlightenment they always have it in their power to search out better things". Like Tyrtaios, Xenophanes isolated one virtue and made it the type of all virtue, but his choice (σοφία) is eloquent of the distance separating the novel Ionian thinkers from the ethos of the conservative Peloponnesian warrior-aristocrat: see Snell, DG^2 141-2.

435. Jacoby, F.Gr.Hist. 1 collects the fragments: see esp. F 1a. For a general account of his work, see L. Pearson, Early Ionian Historians (1939) ch.2; for his handling of the Spartan King-lists, see my Appendix IX. His method is well summarised by K. Latte, Entretiens Hardt iv (1958) 4-5; cf. Momigliano, "Il razionalismo di Ecateo di Mileto", Atene e Roma n.s. xii (1931) 133-42, who explains F 1a as the first fruits of a more extensive contact with older oriental civilisations.

436. MMH 283.

437. Momigliano, "The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography" (1958), SIH 127-42, at p.129; cf. Jacoby, Atthis 201 (quoted in n.408).

437a. I know of no better assessment of them than Grote, "Grecian Legends and early History", Minor Works (ed. A. Bain, 1873) 73-134: see Appendix VIII§III (i).

438. The modern bibliography is vast, but the number of substantial contributions to a better understanding of his work much smaller: W. Marg, ed., Herodot (1962) reprints some of the more important of these, and there are useful summaries of the modern literature by P. MacKendrick, CW 1954, 145-52; 1963, 269-75; 1969,37-44. C. W. Fornara, Herodotus (1971) is the latest in the long line of those who believe they can detect a change or changes in emphasis and objectives within the Histories, as against those who would see the Persian Wars as the main theme embraced early on in his career: for this often overriding controversy, see M. Grant, The Ancient Historians (1970) 30-1. Whichever view is correct, I agree with Latte, Entretiens Hardt iv (1958) 28 that in the work of Herodotus is reached the point "an dem echte Geschichtsschreibung im Gegensatz zu anderen Formen des Berichtes über vergangene Zeit entsteht". For Herodotus and Sparta, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 70-2 and 81-107, esp. 86-103.

439. R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of History (1946) 28.

440. W. G. Forrest, Herodotus ("The Great Histories", 1963) xix-xxiii.

441. H. Strasburger, "Herodots Zeitrechnung" in Marg, Herodot 677-725; cf. von Fritz, GGS i.364ff.

442. See n.400.

442a. H. Strasburger, "Homer und die Geschichtsschreibung", Sitz. Akad. Heidelberg 1972 is a salutary reminder, but in my view he exaggerates grossly the degree of truly historical consciousness exhibited by the Iliad and Odyssey (for him composed by different poets.)

443. For modern work on Thucydides, see de Ste. Croix, OPW 295-6; add Y. Lacoste, Ibn Khaldoun^2 (1969) pt. II, ch.1, where the great fourteenth-century Arab historian is compared to Thucydides in an illuminating fashion. All too often, however, the "Thucydides question" is taken to be the problem of the date of composition of the various parts of the History (cf. n.438 for Herodotus).

444. Thomas Hobbes, The English Works viii (ed. W. Molesworth, 1639-45) 8 (preface to his first published work, a translation of Thucydides (1628)).

445. de Ste. Croix, OPW 6; but this has been disputed with reference both to particular portions of the work and to the overall intention: see the works discussed in OPW 5-34. The theoretical problems of "facts" in history are well discussed by Carr, What is History? (1961) ch.1; according to A. J. P. Taylor, "facts are merely things that historians make up in their spare time"! For Thucydides and Sparta, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 127-48, who correctly understands the historian's impartiality and absence of moral judgements in the sphere of interstate relations and stresses his independence of the Spartan legend. Incidentally, Thucydides' exasperated sneer at τὸ ἀρυπτόν of the Spartan politeia (v.68.2) seems to me to be as revealing of the external circumstances and (probably) of the manner in which Thucydides asked his questions as of a trait in the Spartan character or a determined aspect of their foreign policy.

446. Momigliano, "Historiography on Written Tradition and Historiography on Oral Tradition" (1961), SIH 211-20, esp.214-5. Of his greatest successor, Polybius, F. W. Walbank, "Polybius" in T. A. Dorey, ed., Latin Historians (1966) 51, writes: "it is fairly evident that he regarded the cross-examination of eye-witnesses as his main task".

447. Especially so in the case of Sparta: see the works cited in n.404; and II.v(d) and III.viii.

448. See esp. Eur., Supp. 433-7 on the importance of written laws: the whole passage (vv.399-462) is relevant.

449. For bibliography on the care, preservation and publication of documents, see Welles, IVH 6 n.16; for Athens, add now E. Posner, Archives in the Ancient World (1972) 102-14, and A. L. Boegehold, "The Establishment of a Central Archive at Athens," AJA lxxvi (1972) 23-30. Boegehold argues that the archive was not established in the Metroon until c.409-5 and that previously "The documents ... were scattered, some displayed publicly in various places in and outside the city, others in the hands of various magistrates, who were likewise variously situated". The choice of the Metroon may

have been purely pragmatic, but could equally be indicative of the continuing close connection between Greek religion and historiography. For the excavated remains of the Metroon, see now H. A. Thompson-R. E. Wycherley, The Agora of Athens (Agora xiv, 1972) 35-8. For the republication of laws after 410 B.C. see Meiggs-Lewis, GHI no.86. On the whole question of literacy under the democracy, F. D. Harvey, REG lxxix (1966) 585-635.

449a. Cf. A. J. P. Taylor, The Observer for 21/1/73: "(The historian) cannot function without documents. But it is his job to digest them for the reader, to produce a cooked meal, not to display the raw materials. Even the largest edition of documents is a selection, and the conscientious student has still to explore the records for himself."

450. With the sole exception of the ecclesiastical historiography initiated by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, in the fourth century A.D.: Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D." in Momigliano, ed., The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century (1963) 79-99.

451. R. Pfeiffer, A History of Classical Scholarship (1968) 51-4. In a famous passage of the Platonic satire on the sophist (Hipp.Ma. 285D=Diels-Kranz, FV^{6} 86A 11) Hippias is represented as telling Sokrates that he found the Spartans much interested in arkhaiologia. As E. Norden, Agnostos Theos (1913) 373 suggested, the word arkhaiologia could be a Sophistic invention (but cf. Kirk, Myth 8 for the first appearance of the kindred mythologia also in Plato). But it seems to me that the interpretation of the passage put forward by e.g. Momigliano, SIH 3-4 with n.5 on p.30, misses half of the point of the satire, which is also aimed at the Spartans' conversational habits; cf. Appendix VIII§I. For further bibliography on the Platonic authenticity of the Hipp. Ma. and the passage under discussion, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 238 and nn.91-3 on pp.525-6. For Hippias and Sparta, see further n.460.

451a. Diels-Kranz, FV^{6} 88:Pfeiffer, op.cit. 54-5; Rawson, STET 30-2.

452. For bibliography on Hellanikos of Lesbos, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 314n.10 (esp. Jacoby, RE s.v.). He was the first to write a "universal" history (pace Polybius v. 31.6-33, who gave this distinction to Ephorus and anyway claimed that his own work was the first to be truly universal) and for this his compilation of the list of priestesses of Hera at Argos presumably served as a chronological basis. But Thucydides (i.97.2) criticised him precisely for his lack of chronological precision. For his "antiquarian" interest in Sparta, see n.460.

453. Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian" (1950), SIH 4.

454. H. Frankfort et al., The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man (1946) ch.8 (title).

455. Jacoby, F.Gr.Hist. IIC Komm.25-6; G. L. Barber, The Historian Ephorus (1935) 22 and App.2; G. Schepens, "Ephore sur la valeur de l'autopsie", Ancient Society i (1970) 163-82. Cf. I. A. F. Bruce, "Theopompus and Greek Historiography", HT ix (1970) 86-109, at p.91.

456. E. Schwartz, Charakterköpfe aus der Antike^{4} (1956) 183-209; Pfeiffer, op.cit. (see n.451) 152-70. See also n.407.

457. A. E. Wardman, "Myth in Greek Historiography", Historia ix (1960) 403-13; Finley, MMH.

458. As E. J. Bickerman, "Origines Gentium", C Phil xlvii (1952)70, puts it: "Greek historians (sc. from Hekataios onwards) turned mythological people and happenings into historical persons and events". Hellanikos' theory of the origin of Rome, discussed by Bickerman, is a prime example of "learned" speculation.

459. Plut., Lyk. xiii.1; for the meanings of rhetra, see Appendix XI. The surviving inscriptions amply illuminate this post eventum rationalisation: of the selection in Jeffery, LSAG (62, from c. 600-400), only six are "public" documents (nos.10,15,49,55,61,62) and of these only three (nos.49,55,62) could be used to reconstruct the history of Sparta in detail; add now W. Peek, Abh. Sächs. Akad. lxv.3 (1974) (treaty with Aitolians, c. 500-470?). Apart from the evidence of survivals of actual Lakonian writing, the literary evidence (even disregarding the cracks about Spartan illiteracy by Isokrates and Strabo) suggests that beyond a minimal level of competence (Plut., Lyk. xvi.6) writing skills were required by and limited to the top few only: see e.g. Marrou, HEA^{6} 45, 54-5; cf.n.244.

460. Hellanikos published a list of the victors at the quadriennial Karneia, whose inauguration was placed in 676/5: Tigerstedt, LSCA 23 and nn.49-51 on p.318 (Terpander of Lesbos was accounted the first victor: Tigerstedt, LSCA 41 and n.225 on p.336). Far more prestigious were the Olympic Games, in which the Spartan state took an early and continuing interest: de Ste. Croix, OPW 354-5, App.28, with works cited there; the records were collated by Hippias and, from the time of Eratosthenes, 01.1 (776/5) has been the conventional date for the beginning of Greek "history" (see n.407). On the authenticity and possible contents of the lists, see A. Brinkmann, Rh.Mus. lxx (1915) 622-37, with the excellent bibliographical footnote n.39 in Tigerstedt, LSCA 315-6; on their crucial role in Greek chronography, Forsdyke, GBH ch.2. The earliest surviving Lakonian victor-list on stone is Jeffery, LSAG 201, no.44 (c.500 B.C.).

461. For the ephor-lists, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 23 with nn.38, 47-8 on pp.315-8; add now Samuel, GRC 238-41. By some tricky mathematical juggling, Jacoby, Apollodors Chronik (1902) 138-42 dated the first ephors in 755/4, but refused to believe that a list of (eponymous) ephors could have been in existence before the ephorate of the shadowy Chilon (556/5: Diog. Laert. i.68.6); cf. his Atthis 305 n.24. The list was probably first published by Charon of Lampsakos (c.400): Jacoby, "Charon von Lampsakos", Abhandlungen zur gr. Geschichtsschreibung (1956) 187ff.; cf. Atthis 59, 289 n.113. Jacoby suggests that Charon, like Hippias, may have been guilty of some free invention.

462. See Appendix IX.

463. The Pythioi (Hdt. vi.57, 60; Xen., LP xv.5) were permanent and hereditary ambassadors to Delphi. For the relations between Sparta and the Delphic oracle, see Ehrenberg, Neugrunder des Staates (1925) 11-12; Parke-Wormell, DO^{2}i,passim, esp. 82-98; G. Zeilhofer, Sparta, Delphoi und die Amphiktyonen im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus (Diss. Erlangen, 1959). There is a certain parallelism here with the interest shown by Sparta in Olympia (n.460): both represent that mixture of piety and pragmatic politicking for which the Spartans displayed real flair. For the "Great Rhetra" as a (Delphic) oracle, see Appendix XI.

464. See op.cit. (n.437a) 87.

465. Forsdyke, GBH 7; cf. p.166: "Archaeological discoveries may throw light upon the legends, but the use of legendary statements for historical interpretation of material records is a reversal of proper procedure".

466. Starr, "La storia greca arcaica: saggio sul metodo di ricostruzione", Riv. fil. xcii (1964) 16. The idea could not have occurred to ancient authors, whose archaeological knowledge and the conceptual system with which they approached it were alike rudimentary: see E. Pernice-W. H. Gross, "Gelegentliche Bemerkungen zur Archäologie in der antiken Literatur" in U. Hausmann, ed., Allgemeine Grundlagen der Archäologie^2 (1969) 448-465. Indeed, the first modern scholar to make extensive and effective use of archaeological evidence was probably Rostovtzeff: Momigliano, "M. I. Rostovtzeff" (1954), SIH 91-104.

467. On the nature and extent of the rapprochement that is feasible between archaeology and history (narrowly defined), see S. Piggott, Approach to Archaeology (1959) ch.1; R. M. Cook, Antiquity xxxiv (1960) 177-9; M. I. Finley, "Archaeology and History", Daedalus (Winter,1971) 168-186; D. P. Dymond, Archaeology and History: a plea for reconciliation (1974).

468. Stubbings, CR n.s. viii (1958) 63-5 (review of Forsdyke,GBH) makes much of this, but he neatly exemplifies the Anglo-Saxon "Neigung" quoted above (text and n.413a): see P. Vidal-Naquet, Annales (ESC) xviii (1963) 703ff.

469. For excellent bibliographical surveys of the more recent literature, see: (1) A. Lesky, Die Homerforschung in der Gegenwart (1952), continued by him in AAHG vi (1953) 129-50; viii. 129-56; xii. 129-46; xiii.1-22; xvii.129-54; xviii.1-30; and by E. Dönt in xxi (1968) 129-144; xxiii.129-48; xxv.163-82; (2) F. M. Combellack, CW xlix (1955) 17-26, 29-44, 45-55; (3) H. J. Mette, Lustrum i (1956) 7-86; xi.33-69; xv. 99-122, 128-9; (4) E. R. Dodds-Palmer-Gray in Platnauer, FYTCS 1-49. The best brief treatments of the multitude of problems are Lesky, GGL^3 29-112 and "Homeros", RE Supp.xi (1968); Hainsworth, Homer; the most useful of the longer works are perhaps Kirk, SH and W. Schadewalt, Von Homers Welt und Werk^4 (1965); Kirk, LBH reprints a number of the more solid recent contributions. According to Dönt, AAHG xxi (1968) 134, the "Homeric question" should now be phrased as follows: "inwieweit und in welchem Ausmass können die homerische Gedichte als geformt und durch die dichterische Kraft eines Einzelnen zu einem einheitlichen Ganzen geworden bezeichnet werden?"

470. The proof of this assertion is to be found in the oeuvre of Milman Parry, which has been invaluably brought together under one cover (and in part translated or published for the first time) by his son as Parry, MHV: see especially the M.A. thesis (1923) and the Paris thèses (1928). The immediacy of its impact is evident from P. Chantraine, Rev. Phil. iii (1929) 294-300. It should perhaps be stressed, in view of the confusion or ignorance on this point, that Parry demonstrated the traditional formulaic nature of the epics on purely internal evidence; that they were also oral was a hypothesis he set out to test in Yugoslavia. For a survey, with references to the subsequent literature, see Lesky, RE Supp.xi. 693-703; add A. B. Lord,"Homer as Oral Poet", HSCP lxxii (1967) 1-46. For criticisms of various aspects of the "Parry-Lord thesis", see D. C. Young, "Never blotted a line?", Arion vi (1967) 279ff.; G. Giangrande, JHS xcii (1972) 189-92. Other criticisms are cited in Hainsworth, Homer.

471. Lord, "Homer's originality: oral dictated texts" (1953) in Kirk, LBH 68-78, argues strenuously that, since literacy destroys the capacity to make oral poetry, Homer must have been illiterate, although he could have dictated the poems even in their "monumental" form to literate helpers. Kirk, "Homer and modern oral poetry: some confusions" (1960) in Kirk, LBH 79-89, attacks Lord's assumptions and analogies. (For the limitations of the comparative method, which Lord applies somewhat uncritically, see n.496). If Hainsworth, Homer 9, is correct, "the real question, as yet unattempted, is whether the dramatic quality could have been orally conceived"; cf. his "The Criticism of an Oral Homer", JHS xc (1970) 90-8. For useful surveys of the problem ("Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit"), see Myres-Gray, HHC 288-92; A. Parry, YCS xx (1966)177-216; Lesky, RE Supp. xi. 703-9.

472. The resolution of the textual problem hangs on the answers given to two basic questions: when did the creative stage of the tradition culminating in the "monumental" epics (attributed to "Homer") end and the reproductive stage or the recitation of a text begin? How far did the poems remain intact during the reproductive or recitative stage? Most scholars agree that the answer to the first question is the eighth or early seventh century: see esp. Schadewalt, "Homer und sein Jahrhundert" (1942) in Von Homers Welt und Werk[4] (1965); Lesky, RE Supp. xi. 687-693. The answer to the second, however, depends in turn on the view taken of both the historicity and possible content of a "Peisistratean recension"; for the extreme form of the positive view, see the recent summary by M. D. Reeve, CQ n.s. xxii (1972) 3 n.5. I myself do not find the case for such a recension particularly convincing, but I agree that it is unsound (as the radically divergent conclusions drawn from similar "comparative studies" clearly illustrate) to claim that we have anything approaching knowledge of the history of our epics in their early stages - or indeed before Plato: see J. Labarbe, L'Homère de Platon (1949).

473. There is some disagreement as to the reference of the term "formula": see Hainsworth, Homer 19-25; A. Parry in Parry, MHV esp. xxxii. However defined, the use of formulae as a foundation for composition ensured scope in expression and economy in diction: see now e.g. Kirk, SH 59-68.

474. K. Meister, Die homerische Kunstsprache (1921).

475. All the basic works on the Greek dialects (see n.265) contain a section on Homer: see most recently R. Hiersche, Grundzüge der gr. Sprachgeschichte bis zur klassischen Zeit (1970) 80-106, reviewed by A. Heubeck, Gnomon xliv (1972) 321-6, at pp.324-5. Of the specialist studies, G. P. Shipp, Studies in the Language of Homer[2] (1972) is particularly valuable.

476. See Lesky, AAHG xii (1959) 130; xvii (1964) 146, 148; xviii (1965) 12, 17 and the works cited; cf. his RE Supp. xi. 755. Kirk, "Dark Age and Oral Poet", PCPS n.s. vii (1961) 34-48 and SH ch.6 cover the ground; but see also the penetrating criticisms in Heubeck, Gnomon xxix (1957) 43; xxxiii (1961) 118.

477. There is general agreement (although it is strictly an article of faith) that there was Mycenaean poetry of some nature, but disagreement both as to whether the ultimate forerunners of Homer are Mycenaean and as to whether the Mycenaean elements in the Homeric poems entered the tradition in the Mycenaean period: for a useful introduction to the problems, see the conflicting contributions of

Chadwick (1958) and Shipp (1961) in Kirk, LBH 119-139, with the "agnostic position" adopted by Kirk, "Objective Dating Criteria in Homer" (1960) in LBH 174-190, esp. §§18-25. The origins of the dactylic hexameter are excellently discussed by H. N. Porter, YCS xii (1951) 1-63. For the relevance of the "Catalogue of Ships" to the problem of Mycenaean poetry, see below.

478. Among the factors favouring the development of the epic, see the one cited by Dio Chrysostom xi. 147; prominence is usually now given to the upheaval and uprooting involved in the so-called "Ionian migration": see e.g. Lesky, AAHG xviii (1965) 13; Bengtson, GG[4] 63. For the archaeological evidence bearing on the date of the migration (from c. 1050) and the quality of life of the emigrants, see Ed. Will, "La Grèce archaïque", Trade and Politics in the Ancient World (Deuxième Conférence internationale d'histoire économique, 1962) vol.i (published 1965) 51-2, 110-13; Huxley, The Early Ionians (1966) chs. 1-3; Snodgrass, DAG 373-4. Desborough, GDA 341, 354-5 contains an interesting suggestion about the role of the inhabitants of Achaia in transmitting Mycenaean knowledge to the east; but the precise nature of "colonial" society and in particular the social context in which the Homeric poems were created and developed are still obscure: for some general observations, see Parry, MHV 455-7; W. Marg, Homer uber die Dichtung[2] (1971). There has, however, been a tendency to exaggerate the exclusively aristocratic affiliations: see contra Hainsworth, Homer 15,35; cf. Havelock, PTP 119. Indeed, the most powerful advocate of a "popular" Homer ("He is essentially the poet of the broad highway and the market-place") is Grote, HG[2] ii. 309-11.

479. Jacoby, "Homerisches. I. Der Bios und die Person", Hermes lxviii (1933) 1-50, at pp. 40-4, sees a contemporary reference in Il. xx. 303-8.

480. This is not of course to say that Homer had any idea of the essential distinctness of the past: see Parry, MHV 412. For the other arguments against the notion of Homer as historian, see text and nn. 410-3, 442a above.

481. H. L. Lorimer, Homer and the Monuments (1950), outstanding for its day, is now out of date; Archaeologia Homerica (in process of publication, by different hands, and very uneven in quality) is not the ideal replacement. Starr, OGC remains invaluable, but its compass is far broader; Bouzek, HG is too narrowly archaeological in this context, while Snodgrass, DAG comes somewhere in between.

482. Apart from particular treatments of the topics selected for special discussion below, there are several (for the most part illuminating) discussions of the historical problems in Homer as a whole: e.g. A. Severyns, Homère i. Le Cadre historique[2] (1945); W. Den Boer, "Le rôle de l'art et l'histoire dans les études homériques contemporaines", AC xvii (1948) 25-37; R. Hampe, "Die homerische Welt im Lichte der neuen Ausgrabungen: Nestor", Vermächtnis der antiken Kunst (1950) 11-70; ibid., Gymnasium lxiii (1956) 1-56; Severyns, "Homère et l'histoire", AC xxxiii (1964) 325-55. Exceptional are Hampl, op.cit. (see n.336) and Kirk, "The Homeric Poems as History", CAH ii[3], ch.39 (b) (fasc. 22, 1964). A. Heubeck's review of Hampe (1956), in Gnomon xxix (1957) 38-46, is also valuable, as is Lesky, RE Supp. xi. 750-7.

483. Myres-Gray, HHC 293.

484. J. Bryant, quoted ap. H. Owgan, Miscellanea Homerica (1840) 18, was one of the earliest recorded modern sceptics, but the seeds of doubt were scattered as early as Eratosthenes' demand for "proof" of Aeolus' bag of winds and his relegation of all events

before 776 to the "mythical" era. It was, however, illogical for Eratosthenes to take the Trojan War as his chronographical starting-point, as Schwartz, op.cit. (see n.456) 203, remarked. The state of the question in present scholarship is neatly summarised by the contributions of M. I. Finley, J. L. Caskey, G. S. Kirk and D. L. Page to the symposium in JHS lxxxiv (1964) 1-20.

485. The specialised literature includes: B. Niese, Der homerische Schiffskatalog als historische Quelle betrachtet (1873); Allen, HCS and HOT 328-50; Burr, NK; Jachmann, HSI; Page, HHI ch.4; Hope Simpson-Lazenby, CSHI; Giovannini, EHOCV.

486. The evidence mustered by Page, HHI to prove the Trojan half of his view that the historical basis of the Iliad is a struggle between the Achaean and Trojan leagues following the decline of the Hittite empire is either inadequate philologically or irrelevant chronologically:see n.268. On the Achaean side the Linear B tablets, as we have seen in (b), do not offer comparable evidence for interstate relations.

487. "The world of the tablets is one of which the Homeric poems retain only the faintest conception": Page, HHI 202; cf. Lesky, RE Supp. xi. 742. It is important to remember, as Heubeck (reviewing Page) puts it, Gnomon xxxiii (1961) 116: "Im ubrigen ist esja ein Binsenwahrheit, dass nicht alles, was bei Homer archaisch aussieht, auch archaisch sein müss."

488. This tendency, which is especially strong in the English-speaking world, is perhaps most persuasively represented by Page, who "takes the argument for the historicity of the Homeric epics as far as it can reasonably go" (A. Parry in Parry, MHV xliv). I would say that he takes it further!

489. For most of these scholars the minimum hypothesis would be acceptably expressed in something like the following terms: "Exaggeration of an expedition to the right place is more likely than memory of a great expedition to the wrong, and the natural explanation is that tradition knew of an attack on a Troy which stood on Hissarlik, and that poets staged the battlefield accordingly": Myres-Gray, HHC 248-9. I agree, but "natural" explanations are not necessarily correct explanations. For the view that the Trojan War was the last act of Mycenaean expansion, see M. Fernandez-Galiano, "El marco historico de la epopeya," Introduccion a Homero (1963) 201; but it might rather be the last such act to be remembered.

490. Finley presumably belongs to the "small minority of scholars" who (in his words, EGBAA 63) "propose abandoning the Greek tradition as essentially mythical, and removing Troy from its unique place in late Greek Bronze Age history, or indeed from any significant place in that history at all". It is not, however, clear from his surrounding narrative that his disbelief is total. Hampl, op.cit. (see n.336) adopts in principle a thoroughgoing agnostic position, concluding (p.63) that: "Nur wenn ein positiver Beweis zu führen ist, dass eine Erzählung geschichtlich ist oder wenigstens einen geschichtlichen Kern enthält, kann Tradition der Art, wie sie im homerischen Epos vorliegt, historisch verwertet sein"; but his own practice falls short of these lofty standards (see for example his view of the historical kernel of the Iliad on p.49) and there is ambiguity in the concept of a "positiver Beweis".

491. I am referring here to the historical basis only of the essential plot and not of all the incidental details and elaborations. It is a separate point, with which I agree, that the Homeric "world"

is a composite of elements from different periods that entered the tradition at different stages, "which has become immortal mainly because it never existed outside Homer's vivid imagination": Myres, "Homeric Art", BSA xlv (1950) 241; cf. the powerful observations of Miss Gray in Myres-Gray, HHC 288; and Lesky, GGL[3] 73-9.

492. In respect of the poems as a whole I maintain the same fundamentally agnostic outlook, but am even less confident in offering positive suggestions.

493. From the literary point of view, the Iliad and Odyssey have no peer; it has been also argued that the Homeric hexameter is an outstandingly strict and demanding metre, but this is more often asserted than demonstrated: cf. A. Parry in Parry, MHV xl and n.1.

494. Comparative studies are adequately treated in three works of Sir Maurice Bowra: AJA liv (1950) 184-92; Heroic Poetry (1952) esp. ch. 14; The Meaning of a Heroic Age (1957) in Kirk, LBH 22-47. The title of Rhys Carpenter's Folk-tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics (1946) - whose argumentation is characteristically provocative - summarises his useful tripartite typology of their contents: for brief definitions of the terms, see Hainsworth, Homer 15-16. The argument about historicity is a question of the specific reference of "saga" in comparison to that of the other two terms: see the careful review of Rhys Carpenter by Lorimer, CR lxii (1948) 14-16 (but she belongs to the tendency of Page).

495. Lesky, GGL[3] 27; RE Supp. xi.756.

496. Cf. Momigliano, "The Consequences of New Trends in the History of Ancient Law" (1964), SIH 246: "comparison must assist in the understanding of existing documents, not in filling gaps in the documentation in the name of a suppositious uniformity of development"; see also Nilsson, Homer and Mycenae (1933) 214.

497. Different commentators ascribe varying degrees of importance to the latest Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean periods: see nn.476-7.

498. See the salutary remarks of Gomme, GAPH 12-13 and n.16.

499. The basic publication is C. W. Blegen et al., Troy iv (1958); cf. McDonald, PP ch.6, at pp.217-29.

500. The archaeological aspect of the Trojan War controversy is well described by J. Wiseman, Arion iv (1965) 711-6; cf. Bouzek, HG 68-9. My own preference is for a date in the second half of the thirteenth century, pace Blegen, "The Mycenaean Age", University of Cincinnati Classical Studies i (1967) 19 (1270/60 B.C.).

501. Lesky, RE Supp. xi. 785-8, at col. 787; as he notes (col. 785): "Kaum eine andere Partie der Il. hat eine so widerspruchvolle Beurteilung erfahren".

502. W. Kullmann, Die Quellen der Ilias (1960) 63-8, gives a conspectus of the variety of published views; the title of his work, however, betrays its "analyst" orientation.

503. My grounds for this belief are not, however, those of e.g. Hope Simpson and Lazenby, who believe it can be shown that the "Catalogue" ostensibly refers to the period in which it was composed: see the review by W. McLeod, Phoenix xxiv (1970) 258, who points out that this is an assumption that is "not inevitable". I am also aware of the flaws in Page's arguments: see Heubeck, Gnomon xxxiii (1961) 116-7 (esp. the attack on the theory of separate

transmission); A. Parry in Parry, MHV xlv (the appropriateness of epithets is always a matter of accident not design - e.g. "many-doved" Messe in Menelaos' Kingdom); Dow, AJP lxxxiii (1962) 96 (political geography of the Argolid is absurd). As far as I can see, no hypothesis will ever be capable of proof so long as it involves - as it necessarily must in view of Dark Age illiteracy (itself an assumption) - certain prior assumptions that are themselves unprovable. My view of the "Catalogue" has been adopted for lack of viable alternatives rather than its positive merits, and (like all views) it does not explain the Kingdom of Menelaos.

504. Against Jachmann's "Katalogist", see the arguments in the review by Page, CR n.s. x (1960) 105-8; these apply also to some extent to Giovannini's theory of Delphic chicanery, which fails utterly to make a case for the identity of the political geography of the "Catalogue" with that of historical Greece (see EHOCV esp. pp.27-8 for the absurdities into which this view can lead when applied to Lakonia and Messenia).

505. On the one hand, it is not a (IIIB) Mycenaean muster-list, as Burr, NK would have it: see the review by Heubeck, Gnomon xxi (1949) 197-210; on the other hand, the prefatory invocation does not betoken a "historical" intention but rather a genuine need for assistance with this mnemonic feat and the traditional pious ascription of the source of all knowledge to the Muses: Snell, DM^2 136-7. Precision is impossible, but I would rate the proportion of "fiction" to "saga" in the "Catalogue" fairly high: cf. n.494.

506. The most reliable and up-to-date statistics are probably those given by McLeod, Phoenix xxiv (1970) 257 (but he has excluded the Dodecanese and Ionian islands: see meanwhile, Hope Simpson-Lazenby, "Notes from the Dodecanese II", BSA lxv (1970) 47-77).

507. Lakedaimon: see, for example, the juggling of Wilamowitz, Der Glaube der Hellenen i (1931) 73 n.2.

508. Amyklai (no.8), Laas (no.46), Oitylos (no.53) and Messe (no.52): the evidence is set out in I.vi, s.vv.

509. Giovannini, EHOCV 19, makes this point, but fails to apply it in practice:see n.504.

510. See nos. 1,5,7,33. Bryseiai has been identified, wrongly in my view, with both Ayios Vasilios (no.9) and Anthochorion (no.39) in desperate attempts to preserve the pristine Mycenaean purity of the "Catalogue"; cf. J. M. Cook,CR n.s. xxi (1971) 173.

511. A. Hoekstra, Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes (1965) 129 and n.1.

512. W. F. Wyatt, Jr., Metrical Lengthening in Homer (Incunabula Graeca xxxv, 1969) 160; cf. 240 (34.3.7).

513. Gomme, GAPH 7, can see nothing in Homer's portrait of Menelaos that could be due to a poet's desire to please a Spartan audience. The number of ships attributed to him by the "Catalogue" (60) is appropriate to his status as brother of Agamemnon and in proportion to his relative importance in comparison with e.g. Nestor, who could commandeer 90. I do not believe it is possible to say whether these absolute figures bear any relation to Mycenaean reality (of whatever phase): cf. Thuc. i.10.3-5 for some pioneering suggestions. Nor do I find it a convincing argument in favour of the Mycenaean origin of the "Catalogue" that the forces are enumerated in terms of ships, for the context alone is enough to explain this. For the opposite view of the position of Agamemnon to that expressed here, see Desborough, loc.cit. (n.247).

514. This theory besides rests on anachronistic economic assumptions about the role and nature of trade in the Mycenaean economies, quite apart from the fact that the probabilities are against Troy having played a crucial part in that trade as far as mainland Greece was concerned.

515. I would ascribe most of the "nostoi" legends, at least in their details, to the "rich and plastic imagination" (Starr, AGHS 9) of the Greeks and their ability to "build imposingly without material foundations" (Forsdyke, GBH 123).

516. The hypothesis is most expertly advocated by Desborough, LMTS esp. 217-222, 241-53; cf. McDonald-Rapp, MME 143 for the suggestive analogy with the repeated Viking raids on Burgundy.

517. "Die dorische Wanderung im Lichte der vorgeschichtlichen Funde", AA 1948-9, 12-36; ibid., "Einige spätebronzezeitliche Fremdlinge auf Kreta", JRGZM Mainz ii (1955) 153-169. For a fuller and more recent account, see W. Kimmig in Studien aus Alteuropa i (1964) 220-83; cf. Bouzek, HG 40-3 with fig. 12. Snodgrass, DAG 304-13 gives an excellent but negative summary.

518. Desborough, PPS xxxi (1965) 221-3; cf. LMTS 32-40, esp.37ff., 252, 255; Gnomon xli (1969) 215-6 (reviewing J. Deshayes, Argos: les fouilles de la Deiras (Etudes Peloponnésiennes iv, 1966); GDA 106ff., 269. I prefer the explanation of this phenomenon, summarised clearly by Snodgrass, DAG 177-84, 314-7, as a revival of earlier, especially Middle Helladic, practice. Chronological uncertainties make it difficult to use the considerable evidence from Albania and Northern Greece mustered by N. G. L. Hammond, Epirus (1967): see the review by J. Bouzek, Eirene viii (1970) 187-9. Desborough, LMTS 40 adduced supposed skeletal evidence in favour of his northern hypothesis, but has subsequently admitted the ambiguities: GDA 276; cf. R. P. Charles, "L'Anthropologie archéologique: Méthodes, Buts et premiers résultats", Annales (ESC) xxi (1966) 518-52; Snodgrass, DAG 184-6.

519. For the general problems that an "invasion" of this kind involves, see Y. W. Adams, "Invasion, Diffusion, Evolution?", Antiquity xlii (1968) 194-215, at 197-206; cf. McNeal, op.cit. (n.242). M. Pallottino, The Etruscans (1955) ch.2 should strike many familiar chords and is worth reading from the point of view of method.

520. The most important are cited or briefly discussed in Bengtson, GG^4 50-56.

521. See II.v (c) and n.465. Two notable exceptions are G. Vitalis, Die Entwicklung der Sage von der Rückkehr der Herakliden (Diss. Greifswald, 1930); and F. Kiechle, "Die Ausprägung der Sage von der Rückkehr der Herakliden", Helikon vi (1966) 493-517. But such attempts to salvage at least some of the "tradition" are, in my view, doomed to failure from the outset, since we can never know the first terms of the argument: see II.v (c) passim and Appendix VIII.

522. Notably and not surprisingly (see n.398) Beloch, GG i^2.2 (1913) 76-96.

523. J. Chadwick, "The Prehistory of the Greek Language", CAH^3 ii, ch. 39 (fasc. 15, 1963).

524. For the influence of the ("Achaean") Arkadian dialect on Lakonian Doric, see F. Solmsen, "Vordorisches in Lakonien", Rh. Mus. n.f. lxii (1907) 329-38. But it is now, I suppose, a moot point whether this influence was felt in the Mycenaean period, when the proto-Doric speakers were on the cultural fringes of the Mycenaean world (cf. perhaps n.292), or in the Dark Age as a result of prolonged contact between Dorian immigrants and the descendants of the Mycenaean population in Lakonia.

525. See the works cited in n.265. Risch gives references to the standard works on dialectology, but add now Hiersche, op.cit. (n.475). For the wider philological framework and a different view of the Dorian invasion from the one suggested here, see G. Devoto, Origini indoeuropee (1962) esp. 375-82.

526. The Hylleis have been (very dubiously, in my view) linked etymologically with Illyria: Wilamowitz, Hellenistische Dichtung ii (1924) 177 n.1; followed by P. Kretschmer, Glotta xv (1927) 194. For other work on the names of the Dorian tribes (Hylleis, Dymanes and Pamphyloi), see Bengtson, GG^4 53 n.4.

527. It is perhaps worth mentioning the finding of Vansina, OT that the likelihood of traditions about migrations preserving anything like what actually happened is very small.

528. The so-called myth(s) of the "Return of the Heraklidai"(e.g. Tyrtaios fr. 2B West; Thuc. i.9.2): for full bibliography, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 28-36; add Kiechle, op.cit. (n.521) and esp. N. G. L. Hammond CAH^3 ii, ch.36 (fasc. 13, 1962) 25-41.

529. Tigerstedt, LSCA 372-3 n.519; add Forrest, HS ch.7. Cf. n.463.

530. "Dorian" probably did not acquire its pejorative or adulatory connotations until after the Persian Wars, and the reason for the development was a political not a cultural dichotomy; the fact that the Athenians could be represented as "Ionian" provoked many spurious analogies and contrasts: see esp. Will, DI at pp. 75-98; Rawson, STET, Index s.v. "Dorians, Dorian", esp. 57-9, 318-20; Oliva, SSP 9-11.

531. See n.467.

532. According to G. Daniel, Antiquity xliii (1969) 87 (editorial), "The work of all archaeologists may be conceived of as a broad band with at one end the dirt archaeologist and taxonomist, the collector and classifier; in the centre the synthesist and historian; and at the other end the art historian". If there are indeed instances of the class "archaeologist-as-historian", then the absence of the correlative "historian-as-archaeologist" becomes the more remarkable. Toynbee is perhaps the classic example of a man perfectly familiar with the literary evidence but unsullied by the taint of archaeological dirt: his SPGH 152-162 ("Our sources of Information") contains a handful of references to the archaeological evidence, but they are either highly misleading or patently false. It appears that his latest work Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World (1973) is marred by the same defect.

533. Of the older accounts I have found Busolt, GG i^2.201-62 and Ehrenberg, RE s.v. "Sparta" 1373-6 most helpful; of the more recent Oliva, SSP 15-23. A. Andrewes, The Greeks (1967) 30-8 wears its learning lightly. See also Bengtson, GG^4 50-66; Starr, OGC ch.4.

534. M. Andronikos, " The 'Dorian Invasion' and the Archaeological Evidence", Actes du VII[e] Congrès International des Sciences Préhistorique et Protohistoriques ii (Prague 1966, published 1971) 853-5; Hammond, "The Impulses which Started the Dorian Invasion", Studies in Greek History (1973) ch.3. For the Dorians as Vlach-type transhumance shepherds, see J. L. Myres, Mediterranean Culture (1943) 41.

535. For the suggested derivation of Dorieis from dorimachoi, see Wilamowitz, Der Glaube der Hellenen i (1931) 70 n.1. According to Bengtson, GG[4] 53, "Doris .... als Ausgangspunkt der Dorischen Wanderung ist späte Konstruktion"; but M. B. Sakellariou, Actes du VII[e] Congrès 855-8 upholds the traditional etymology and role of Doris.

536. Busolt, GG i.[2] 208; cf. Huxley, ES n.34 for the carrying of model-rafts at the Karneia. Christou, AΣ 17 opts for what I would consider the least likely hypothesis (by sea from Crete): in this he is following Wilamowitz, Staat und Gesellschaft[2] (1923) 14; and F. Miltner, "Die Dorische Wanderung", Klio xxvii (1934) 54-68, at 63ff.

537. I should stress that the attribution of any cultural trait observable in the material record to Dorians is generally eschewed by archaeologists today: for a classic statement of the older view, which credited the Dorians with inter alia the destruction of the Mycenaean centres and the introduction of iron, cremation and the Geometric style of pottery, see J. P. Harland, "The Peloponnesos in the Bronze Age", HSCP xxxiv (1923) 1-62, at 49-51. For a concise statement of the modern view, see Andronikos, op.cit. (n.534); Snodgrass, DAG 311-2. Cf. III.n.687.

538. Cf. I.vi.§1 (no.1) ad finem.

539. For the dates given by ancient writers for the Fall of Troy (translated into modern terms), see Forsdyke, GBH 62; the mean figure falls somewhere in the first quarter of the twelfth century. Thucydides (1.12.3) was presumably giving what he considered the best substantiated version when he placed the Dorian penetration of the Peloponnese eighty years (two generations?) later, i.e. c. 1100.

540. I cannot agree with the advice offered by Myres, Who were the Greeks? (1930) 305, that "if there should turn out to be a misfit at Sparta between pedigrees and potsherds, the remedy is to look for the Laconian equivalent of the Solygeian ridge [see Thuc. iv.42.2]", because I do not believe there were determined opponents of the newcomers, inhabiting the site of classical Sparta. Anyway, if there were such an equivalent, it would probably have been Sparta itself!

541. See further Appendix IX.

542. The earliest "personalities", apart from Lykurgos, are the kings Theopompos and Polydoros, whose putative exploits (including the establishment of the Ephorate attributed to Theopompos) will be discussed in III.viii.

543. I have been struck (perhaps excessively) by the superficial parallels offered by the incursion of the pastoral people later known as Bahima or Bahuma into Uganda: K. Oberg, "The Kingdom of Ankole in Uganda", in M. Fortes-E. E. Evans-Pritchard, edd., African Political Systems (1940) 121-62. For the suggestion that pastoralism predominated over agriculture in the Dark Age see I.v, Intro.; Snodgrass, DAG 379-80.

544. Isokrates xii (Panathenaicus) 255 suggests 2,000, but this is a guess and probably worthless (on Isokrates and history, see Welles, IVH); cf. Aristotle, Pol. ii.9, 1270[a] 36-7 (10,000 at an unspecified period). The question is complicated by the phenomenon of Spartan oliganthropia in the historical period: see Forrest, HS 131-7; de Ste. Croix, OPW 331-2. On Dark Age houses, see Starr, OGC 247-8; Snodgrass, DAG 369-73; Drerup, GBGZ, esp. 96.

545. Oliva, SSP 32-8 cites the salient ancient and modern contributions; his own view is that at the time of the Dorian occupation "der grosste Teil des Bodens, dessen sie sich bemächtigen, der dann als πολιτικὴ χώρα bezeichnet wurde, ihr kollektives Eigentum wurde": Eirene viii (1970) 65. To Oliva's bibliography, add D. Asheri, Distribuzione di Terre nell' antica Grecia (1966) esp. 13-14, 74-8.

546. A Historical Commentary on Polybius i (1957) 728. Concentration on a supposed "Lykurgan" land-division led most ancient writers to ignore the question of the earliest form of land-tenure, although some apparently equated the two by making Lykurgos contemporary with the (Return of the) Heraklidai (Xen., Lak.Pol. x.8, with Wade-Gery, EGH 60 n.3); cf. Asheri, op.cit. esp. 13 n.4.

547. Rawson, STET, Index s.v. "Land division". In a situation of constant struggle between rich and poor Greeks the question was naturally one of fundamental importance to non-Spartans.

548. Starr, AGHS 19; cf. his review in AJP lxxxvi (1965) 111-3 of Huxley, ES, where the comment particularly applies.

549. Continuity of settlement from the latest Mycenaean into the PG period has yet to be demonstrated for any Lakonian site.

550. The essential works of Risch are cited in n.265; cf. Starr, OGC 122 and n.5. The burden of Risch's contributions is the thesis that the historical dialects did not fully evolve until after the Mycenaean period.

551. Perhaps the presence of metal dedications in the PG layer is an indication of a change in divinity (from Hyakinthos to Apollo): see II.v(b) and esp. n.329 for the details of this and other problems surrounding the relationship between pre-Dorian (pre-Greek, but Indo-European?) Hyakinthos and "Dorian" Apollo.

552. Ehrenberg, RE s.v. "Sparta" 1375.

553. See n.563.

554. Toynbee, SPGH 195-203 and Oliva, SSP 38-54 discuss the origin and status of the Helots; my main reason for believing in an early helotisation of Lakonia is the comparative quiescence of the Lakonian helots, who, it seems, lost and forgot any sense of national identity and purpose, unlike the Messenians; cf. most recently M. Austin-P. Vidal-Naquet, Economies et Sociétés en Grèce Ancienne[2] (1972) 104. But see further I.vi.§4, s.v. "Ancient Helos" (no.38) and esp. its n.442; and n.563, below. The helots of Messenia are discussed in III.viii (b) and (c).

555. Toynbee, SPGH 204-12; Oliva, SSP 55-62. For the general questions of the definition and interaction of "ethnic" groups, see the stimulating introductory essay in F. Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (1969).

556. Xen., HG v.3.9 singles out the "kaloi kagathoi" among them: see de Ste. Croix, OPW 93, 372; and cf. Appendix XII and its n.68.

557. Busolt, GG i^2. 229-32 discussed the ownership of this area prior to the Messenian Wars and believed, as I do, that it belonged to Sparta: see also nn.16 and 143 above. I return to this question in III.viii(b).

557a. Starr, OGC ch.4 interprets the tenth and ninth centuries in Greece as a whole as an era of consolidation.

558. I have nothing new to offer to explain the existence of two kings: see Oliva, SSP 23-8, esp. 27; and Appendix IX.

559. The Kings at this stage should probably be regarded as primi inter pares; for this and the subsequent rise of aristocracy at the expense of kingship elsewhere, see C. G. Starr, "The Decline of the Early Greek Kings", Historia x (1961) 129-38; ibid., OGC 330-4. As I have argued in Part III.viii(b), it was the Messenian Wars which ensured the survival of Kings in Sparta.

560. For the "synoecism" of Sparta, see Toynbee, SPGH 171-4; but she should not be regarded as a true polis until considerably later (see n.563) and even then had peculiar features : I.n.327. For the general question of early Greek "urbanisation", see C. Roebuck, "Some Aspects of Urbanization in Corinth", Hesperia xli (1972) 96-127, esp. 97-8, 114-6.

560a. See n.550. The significance of this development derives from the plausible view that "a decisive change of speech without some change of culture seems impossible": A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (1948) 226.

561. See I.n.541.

562. See I.n.42. The date, on the evidence of the Kings involved, could be c.760-50: Forrest, HS 21.

563. Toynbee, SPGH 176-8; and Oliva, SSP 28 n.3 give the essential references; on the myth of Aigeid involvement enough has been said by Toynbee, JHS xxxiii (1913) 251-4. My own view of Amyklai as an obe agrees with that of Ehrenberg, "Spartiaten und Lakedaimonier", Hermes lix (1924) 23-72, at pp. 28-9. But I agree with Starr, OGC 337 n.3 against Ehrenberg, "When did the Polis rise?", JHS lvii (1937) 147-159 that the rise of the true polis should not be dated before the time of Hesiod (see n.202). I have discussed the Spartan contribution to this crucial development in connection both with the Rhetra (Appendix XI) and with the hoplite reform (Appendix XII).

564. Relations with Messenia and other areas of Greece and their repercussions on the economic, political and social situation at Sparta are the subject of III.viii.

NOTES TO PART III

1. Schweitzer, GKG is the first self-proclaimed attempt to understand Greek Geometric art in its totality, but is in fact rather selective: see the review by Coldstream, Gnomon xliv (1972) 595-602. Coldstream, GGP, despite its size and concentration on one class of artefact, is restricted in scope geographically.

2. At its narrowest the "Geometric period" means here the century from c.750-650 in Lakonia (the approximate lower terminus is derived from that of the "Geometric" stratum at Orthia); for the wider use of the term, derived from the characteristic style of pottery and embracing Proto-Geometric, see II.n.21.

3. T. D. Atkinson et al., Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos (JHS Supp.iv, 1904); cf. Dawkins and Droop, BSA xvii (1910-11) 1-22, for the supplementary dig of 1910. This excavation, re-opened in 1974, was as significant methodologically for the prehistoric period in the Aegean (Renfrew, EC 138-9) as those at Sparta for the historic, and it is no accident that Bosanquet, Dawkins and Droop were involved in both sites.

4. W. Schiering in U. Hausmann, ed., Allgemeine Grundlagen der Archäologie^2 (1969) 60-6, 122-45 conveniently lists the major sites and their excavators.

5. I.vi, nos.5,12,21,54 and 92.

6. References at beginning of I.vi.

7. Compare AO fig.1 with E. P. Boblaye et al., Expédition scientifique du Morée. Architecture ii.65, figs.1-2, pls.46,48. For earlier notices, AO 3 n.6.

8. Notably lead figurines: Wace, SMC p.228 (Cat. Nos. 552a-b, 694); AO 249-50.

9. AO 50. For preliminary appreciations of the artistic and historical significance of the early finds, see G. Dickins, Burlington Magazine xiv (1908) 66-84; A. M. Woodward, History viii (October, 1923) 204-9.

10. AO 38-50; reconstructed drawing by K. Iliakis in E. Melas, ed., Temples and Sanctuaries of Ancient Greece (1973) 135.

11. References to diamastigōsis are collected in the note to the Loeb edition of Plutarch, Moralia iii.444-5; cf. Appendix X and its n. 36. For crosscultural comparanda, see Frazer on Paus.iii.16.10.

12. AO, Epigraphical Index I, s.v. "Ὀρθεία"; for the earliest, see Jeffery, LSAG 198, nos.1-3.

13. I retain this spelling in conformity to the excavators' practice, despite the arguments for Ortheia set out somewhat pedantically by Marangou, LEB 1 and n.1 (cf. her remarks on "Potnia Theron", p.16; "paredros", n.94; "polos", n.870). The ancient usage seems never to have been systematic.

14. H. J. Rose, AO 399; see further Appendix X.

15. G. Dickins, BSA xiii (1906-7) 137-42 collects the references to Athena; cf. L. Ziehen, RE s.v. "Sparta" 1455 (9). For the stele of Damonon and other evidence relevant to her epithets, see I. nn.354-6.

16. BSA xvi.1,15; 18-53; AO 1-51, with the explanatory n.1.

17. The disclaimer by Woodward, BSA xxix (1927-8) 306 that the newly discovered portion of early deposit "yielded no finds deserving special mention, nor any evidence modifying the conclusions drawn by the excavators twenty years before" is somewhat disingenuous: see further nn.36, 43, 84.

18. See n.3. For the stratigraphical method and its implications, see e.g. R. E. M. Wheeler, Archaeology from the Earth (1954) ch.4. An illuminating case-study, which gives our next subsection its title, is P. Courbin, "Stratigraphie et Stratigraphie" in Courbin, ed., Etudes Archéologiques (1963) 59-102.

19. I have briefly described the "stratification" of Athena's sanctuary on the Akropolis in I.vi, no.1.

20. G. E. Daniel, The Origins and Growth of Archaeology (1967) chs.3,5.

21. Daniel, The Three Ages (1943); cf. his "From Worsaae to Childe: the models of prehistory", PPS xxxvii (1971) 140-53.

22. For a culture as a "recurrent assemblage of archaeological types", see V. Gordon Childe, Piecing Together the Past (1956) 13-16, with 129-31. For criticisms of Childe and a suggested refinement of his definition, E. MacWhite, American Anthropologist lviii (1956) 3-25, esp. §III.

23. Wheeler, op.cit. (n.18) 9 credits General A. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers with "the first substantive advance in the technique of excavation and recording." According to the present Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford, the General's "guiding principle (was) that a site should be excavated in such a way as to allow of its entire reconstitution" (B. Fagg, letter to The Times of December 20, 1972).

24. The day-books of the Orthia excavations were not available to me. Besides, it is not possible to use the pottery stored in Sparta to check the published accounts; this is mainly because the wooden labels are insufficiently detailed or, lacking string-holes, displaced, but also because the pottery was somewhat rearranged by E. A. Lane in accordance with his stylistic judgements.

25. Cf. in a different context, R. H. Thompson, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology xii (1956) 327-32.

26. AO 4 n.8; cf. BSA xiv (1907-8) 16. For the kind of error, cf. Wheeler, op.cit. 52-3, with fig.11.

27. Dawkins-Droop-Wace, JHS 1 (1930) 329-36, esp. 330-1. In an earlier theoretical work, AE (dedicated to Dawkins), Droop had drawn heavily on his experience at Sparta (esp. 9-11, 17-18, 34 and n.1, 75-6); his introductory remarks on stratification (ix-x) are particularly memorable.

28. V. W. -G. = Vivian Wade-Gery, JHS 1.146-50. The burden of her critique was that, despite protestations to the contrary, the excavators had used the sequence of style (analysed by the reviewer into Formgefühl, technique, fashion and mechanism) to fix the stratigraphy and not the other way around - at least for the above - sand deposit. This touched on a raw nerve, for it had been the excavators' proud boast that, in the event of a conflict or choice between the stratigraphical and stylistic criterion for allocating an artefact its proper place in the sequence, they had invariably preferred the former; cf. Droop, AE 7-11.

29. But for a significant qualification, see n.67. Rather unfairly, therefore, the reviewer was alleged to be aware only of the narrower (and more readily comprehensible!) sense of "stratification".

30. Bosanquet, BSA xii (1905-6) 303-4; BSA xiii, pl.1, O15.

31. Where it is ambiguous, the excavators terminology is placed in inverted commas throughout.

32. BSA xvi (1909-10) 49-50.

33. The depth of the sand has to be inferred from measurements about the "Archaic" altar (AO 9, 23); the minimum was perhaps c.1m. It also has to be inferred that the sand was all laid down at one time (cf. Jeffery, LSAG 188 n.5), but there are several indications that the timescale was short (e.g. terracotta masks from the same mould found above and below: AO 164). The absolute date depends on the chronology of Lakonian II and III pottery, for the latter (as a style: see n.70) begins before the sand was laid down: Lane,LVP 135, 137. Boardman, AOC 2 argues cogently that Lakonian II should end c.580 and the sand should follow c.570/60; his chronology might be supported by Stibbe, LVSJ 114-5, who dates Sparta 1872 (Lakonian III kylix found below the sand) not earlier than c.565-60; but see Stibbe 9 n.8.

34. Cf. Droop, AE 17.

35. AO 6-7.

36. Woodward, JHS xlviii (1928) 185.

37. ILL.III.1. The limits of the sand were established as far as feasible by 1908: BSA xiv.16.

38. It was not, however, expressly stated that the layer of sand continued this far south above the cobbles in 1928.

39. Perhaps Droop, AE 2 had Orthia in mind when he opined that it was "generally a mistake to leave a separate part of a site for operations in the indefinite future, unless the circumstances are very favourable and there is definite reason to think the course beneficial". A "definite reason" was indeed given for not excavating the "Classical" houses east of the altar outside the circuit-wall (AO 27), but none for abandoning the search for the limits of the early votive deposit.

40. What follows is a summary of BSA xiii. 71 and xiv. 14; also relevant is Droop, AE ch.2, esp. 11-15, with Appendix A ("The use of the Dumpy Level").

41. ILL. III.2 (sections on lines E-F, G-H of ILL.III.1).

42. It was in this way that charred bones from sacrificed animals were revealed in the black deposit west of the altars: AO 6.

43. BSA xii-xvi; BSA, Annual Reports for 1906-10; Dawkins, "Archaeology in Greece", JHS xxvii-xxx (1907-10). For the cleaning dig of May 1928, see BSA xxix (1927-8) 1, 306, with the Annual Report; Woodward, JHS xlviii (1928) 185.

44. AO 6, 18-19, 50, figs.2 and 28; pl.2B ("Burned Débris").

45. This figure was arrived at by the following computation (AO 18): the established dates of imported "Protocorinthian" ware are c. 740-660; the quantities of the associated "Laconian I" and "Geometric" are such that the former should begin c.700 and end c.635; the amount of "Laconian II" found would indicate no more than a 25-year span, but, if allowance is made for the probable loss of material in the laying of the sand, 35 is a reasonable calculation; the "Laconian" stratum (i.e. "Laconian I-II" pottery) is 0.25m. thick and represents c.100 years (c.700-600); therefore the "Geometric" stratum, which is 0.50-60m.thick, should represent c.200 (c.900-700 B.C.).

46. AO 6-8, 19, 50, figs. 2-4, 28; pls. 1-2,4.

47. Extent of the sanctuary; position of the altar; existence of the later temples; the general circumstances of the case.

48. Yet the 0.50m. (max.) of burned débris should represent c.200 years on the reasoning set out in n.45.

49. AO 8-15, 50, figs. 4-8, 12-13, 28; pls. 1-4.

50. Full description, with a consideration of its wider implications, in Appendix X. For the excavators' hunch about its existence, Droop, AE 17-8.

51. Part of this deposit will have been carried away by the river when the northern part of the amphitheatre was destroyed: BSA xvi.50. Doubtless the construction of the theatre obliterated part of the deposit on the south, but see text and nn.36-8.

52. This inference was based on three facts: no walls were found; votives were excavated both on and slightly outside the pavement; the "Early" temple and "Archaic" altar were built in extreme proximity to the wall of the second sub-phase. This inference, however, forced them to postulate the existence of a wall running N-S 4m. E of the "Greek" (post-sand) altar to explain how the "Later Enclosure Wall" in this position is also the boundary of the "Archaic" (pre-sand) votive deposit: AO 14-15, 28, fig.14, pl.1.

53. There is no stratigraphical support for this dating, since the deposit above the cobble pavement (except the 0.10m. under the core of the "Archaic" altar) could not be divided: AO 8. About 75 years must have been reckoned a reasonable allowance for an altar of this construction associated with that depth of deposit.

54. But for chronological references to other types of artefact, see AO 148 (terracottas); 163-4 (masks); 187 (limestone carvings); 196 (bronzes); 203-4, 211, 231 n.7 (ivory and bone); 250-1, 382 (lead); 399 (cult in general).

55. AO 17; but note the qualification in BSA xvi.29. For a brief and entertaining survey of the evidential value of painted pottery, see Boardman, GO^2 1-11; cf. Droop, AE 9-11, with Appendix C.

56. It is greatly to be regretted that the pottery-associations of artefacts were normally classified into three styles only, omitting Subgeometric: AO 17 n.27.

57. See n.45 and, generally, Droop, AE 109-15.

58. Lakonian II, for example, is less well represented at Orthia than at the Menelaion (see n.45): BSA xiv.32-3; xv.150-7, figs.15-18. But contrast JHS 1.332; and cf. Boardman, AOC 7 for the suspicion that Lakonian II fragments without figure-decoration were classified as Lakonian I.

59. AO 2; cf. n.54.

60. Indeed, G. Rodenwaldt (see n.75) had queried a number of their conclusions well before the final publication, but without impact.

61. See nn.27-8.

62. Ph W 1 (1930) 1541-50.

63. Gnomon ix (1933) 1-14. Lesser reviews are listed in L'Année Philologique v (1930) 186; vi.251; viii.210.

64. Gnomon ix.2.

65. Droop, "Facts or Fancies?", BSA xxxii (1931-2) 247-50; Hartley, "Facts", BSA cit. 251-4.

66. See n.499.

67. "When the strata are as thin as these (sc. the "Geometric" and "Laconian") were ... the possibility of an object being out of place must never be lost sight of; that is to say, the stratigraphical evidence must not be pressed too closely in its details and only accepted as a general guide. The position in which an object is found is at most evidence only of the time it was dedicated or, still worse, when it was thrown aside": AO 211. The authentic voice of ratio et aetas!

68. Kunze, Gnomon ix. 3,7.

69. LVP, the fundamental study of the late eighth- and seventh-century fabric; for the sixth century, see now Stibbe, LVSJ.

70. But for his important differentiation of the sand as a stratigraphical feature and as an (arbitrary) stylistic terminus, see LVP 122, 128-30, 134-5; followed by H. E. Searls-W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Date of the Olympia Heraion", AJA xlix (1945) 62-80, at 68-73; Jeffery, LSAG 187-9; Boardman, AOC 2. To be fair, Droop (AO 85, 88) had himself felt uneasy about Sparta 1872 (see n.33, end).

71. LVP 101: see my comment in II.n.50.

72. For the contents of the earliest votive deposit (below the pavement), see n.85.

73. PGP, with the additions and modifications noted in II.i (b).

74. Greek Altars (1949) esp. 108-10; cf. 69, 87-90. M. Şahin, Die Entwicklung der griechischen Monumentalaltäre (Diss. Köln, 1972) 20-1 adds nothing (i.e. is out of date).

75. AM xliv (1919) 182: he pointed out here that the excavators' chronology rested on a rather rough calculation and, on the basis of his views on the development of Greek temple-building, suggested a date in the seventh century for the first certain temple. Few, however, will follow him in his belief that the first temples were of stone.

76. JHS lxx (1950) 17-18.

77. The method is set out in n.45, but in my submission Miss Benton has misunderstood completely an important part of it by failing to see that there was no "Protocorinthian" stratum (AO 231 n.7).

78. Examples of caution are AO 18 (depth of "Laconian" stratum outside the "Early" temple); 211 (see n.67); 231 n.7.

79. If, for the sake of argument, Boardman's revised chronology for the "Laconian" stratum is accepted (c.80 years' duration: AOC 4) and if the excavators' assumption of a regular rate of production and deposition is granted, then the "Geometric" stratum and cultic activity could begin c.825-00 - a generally acceptable date (on other grounds) and perhaps not far from the truth! But see n.48.

80. AO 63, fig.37A = Lane 112, pl.25e; cf. Kunze, Gnomon ix.4; Benton, JHS lxx.18 n.25; Coldstream, GGP 216: a Lakonian imitation of EPC. Other references in n.204.

81. Dawkins (AO 18) himself points out that a "ventriconical" PC fragment was found on the surface of the pavement but does not question its stratification (contrast AO 148, pl.31.3, with Kunze, Gnomon ix.9); cf. Boardman, AOC 2,7.

82. But see n.67 for an important qualification not apparently noticed by her.

83. In the present state of the evidence the question remains rhetorical!

84. BJ clviii (1958) 170-6; but I suspect that the article was written soon after the firsthand study in 1935 and in any case well in advance of its publication, for there is no reference either to Benton or Desborough. It was Kirsten who first appreciated the significance of the cleaning at Orthia in May 1928.

85. He divided the pottery in Trays 3036-8 (see Appendix VI) into three groups: "early Geometric" (= PG); "Black Geometric" (= the mainly unslipped Akropolis material published by Droop, BSA xxviii. 49-55); and rather later Geometric (= slipped and unslipped LG). AO 65, fig.39a-b were the only PG sherds ("Amyklaion ware") originally published from Orthia.

86. Rather unconvincingly Kirsten believed this gap to be more important, from the point of view of the site's historical development, even than the layer of sand.

87. See n.52 for this postulated course.

88. Already suggested by Rodenwalt, loc.cit. (n.75).

89. He ingeniously associated their construction with the conquest and incorporation of Amyklai into the **polis** of Sparta, noting that the obe of Amyklai was excluded from the cult of Orthia. Chronology alone rules out this particular identification, but I believe the line of argumentation is correct: see III.viii (b).

90. AOC, exclusively concerned with the pre-sand deposit and predominantly with its chronology.

91. In the preliminary reports the excavators distinguished three pre-sand strata ("Geometric", "Intermediate" and "Laconian"), but on reflection settled for two in the absence of sharp dividing lines: AOC 1.n.2.

92. Above all PC, for whose chronology he followed Payne; cf. n.389. He rightly pointed out that in the excavators' usage "Proto-corinthian" was a "vague classification" in the sense that it was not subdivided into phases. Regrettably, it is not now possible to apply the results of subsequent research to the PC found at Orthia (AO 114), despite the care with which the excavators explained the meaning of "with PC" (AO 17 nn.26-7, with AO 70, 114). For further discussion of PC, see III.iii (e).

93. P. Pelagatti, Annuario xxxiii-iv (1955-6) 11ff. esp. 18; cf. Stibbe, LVSJ 8-9.

94. For some general and particular criticisms, cf. already Kunze, Gnomon ix.4-5.

95. Their associations were given in AO in greater detail than those of, say, the bronzes.

96. If, he might have added, the evidence from stratification was used in the way Dawkins (n.67) counselled. In other words it was not the stratigraphy but the chronology which had led to the absurdities, first pointed out by Kunze, in the dating of individual items. Marangou, LEB follows up the full implications of Kunze's and Boardman's preliminary remarks about several ivory and bone carvings: see III.v.

97. There was "hardly anything which looks earlier than the eighth century": AOC 3.

98. The Archaic Greek Temenos (1967) esp. 47-9, pls.28-9; other references to Orthia (there is no Index): 54-5, 60, 64, 65, 66, 68-70, 77-9, 89-91.

99. See the review by Boardman, CR n.s. xviii (1968) 125-6.

100. She considered it to be supported by the seventh-century architectural terracottas (cf. Appendix X.n.33) and by general considerations of the duration reasonable for a temple of this construction.

101. Both the "Archaic" altar and the "Early" temple rested directly on the pavement; the evidence for the "Earliest" altar was at the same level and could equally well be part of the pavement itself or, if distinct, a prothysis-platform for the "Archaic" altar; the 0.10m. of burned débris under the core of the "Archaic" altar could easily have been deposited as imfilling or otherwise formed, in view of the altar's haphazard construction - besides, the surface of the pavement was only approximately level.

102. The sanctuary could have remained enclosed throughout this (telescoped) second sub-phase, for votives might well have been scattered beyond the limits of the wall when the sanctuary was remodelled in the sixth century; cf. n.52.

103. See p.89 for her interpretation of the pre-pavement sanctuary; she does not offer a date for the beginning of cult. ILL.III.3 is based on her work.

104. These represent only a selection, expressed with my own emphasis.

105. See in greater detail Appendix X.

106. BCH lxxxix (1965) 721 (one sherd from the Akropolis); K. Demakopoulou AD xxii.2 (1967) 203 (few from the Laskaris property). The present Epimelete, Mr. Giorgos Steinhauer, discovered some good sherds in his 1971 excavations (N 13 on BSA xiii, pl.1: village of Limnai). See also n.130.

107. Praktika for 1961, 178.

108. Wace, BSA xvi (1909-10) 73, 75: one, very doubtfully Geometric, sherd.

109. Woodward, BSA xiii.244: "Geometric Laconian sherds of the Orientalising style".

110. It is not stated to what local style these belong.

111. Coldstream in Coldstream-Huxley, Kythera 201-2, nos. 308-9, 310a.

112. As n.110.

113. As n.110.

114. Coldstream in Coldstream-Huxley, Kythera 267 (Q4); cf. n.372.

115. Coldstream, GGP 216 and n.14 (oinochoai), 218 and n.3 (pyxides), 364. Cf. n.341.

116. Coldstream, GGP 364 n.12 (lakaina).

117. Th. Karageorgha, AD xviii.2 (1963) 88-9, pl.103a (LG/Transitional); cf. R. Howell, BSA lxv (1970) 86-7, no.11 (site).

118. P. Perdrizet, FD v (1908) 138, no.54, fig.534, cited by M. L. W. Laistner, BSA xix (1912-3) 62: very doubtful (probably Corinthian), but see iv(b)1.B.15 (bronze horse).

119. Very tentatively I suggest that unpublished sherds in D. A. Inst. Phot. 6842 are Transitional.

120. Huxley, ES 101 n.57; Coldstream, GGP 218, 223 (the author kindly showed me his drawings of these vases); cf. n.1017.

121. P. Pelagatti, Annuario xxxiii-iv (1955-6) 8ff., figs.1-2; Coldstream, GGP 218-9, 372.

122. F. G. Lo Porto, NSc[8] xviii (1964) 222-3, figs.44.1(?), 47.1, 3.

123. E. Diehl, AA 1964, 543 (Kat.32, Inv.485X); a joining fragment from this Transitional amphora is still in Samos (D. A. Inst. Phot. 5327, top); cf. n.443. Inst. Phot. 5681 may show a fragment from a Lakonian LG or Transitional plate.

124. Buschor-von Massow, VA 53, fig.31; Coldstream, GGP 214 n.4 (add Boardman, BSA lxi (1966) 152 n.12): perhaps Attic MG.

125. For the study of Greek Geometric as a whole, see Cook, GPP[2] 300-4. The first attempt to place Lakonian within a wider context was S. Wide, "Geometrische Vasen aus Griechenlands i", JdI xiv (1899) 83-4, figs.41-2 (Athens N.M. 233-4, two pyxides from Amyklai: see n. 179).

126. For Tsountas' and subsequent excavations at the Amyklaion, see II. nn.6-11; VA 49-53, figs.29-30 and pls.4-12 remains valuable. Other published Geometric sherds from Amyklai are Cambridge pl.3. 85-6; Heidelberg pl.134.12, 20, 23(?), 24, 25. There are about a dozen unpublished sherds in the Sherd Collection of the British School at Athens (Box 03) and a number, which I have not seen, in the Frankfurt Archaeological Seminar (information from Coldstream).

127. Wide naturally maintained that it was simple, but Wace, SMC p.223 (on the basis of Cat. 792, 793, 798(2), 799(9)) averred that it "indulged in all the peculiar designs and patterns common elsewhere". Time has favoured Wide.

128. BSA xiii (1906-7) 118-28; AO 54-69, 112. Other published Geometric examples from Orthia are Cambridge pl.3.4-24; pl.4.7-10; cf. probably W. van Ingen, CVA, Michigan i (U.S.A. 3, 1933) pl.12.2 (lakaina). There are unpublished sherds in Oxford, Cambridge, London, Reading and Sydney, the latter mentioned in A. D. Trendall, Handbook to the Nicholson Museum[2] (1948) 264-5.

129. Kunze, Gnomon ix (1933) 3-5, a contribution in its own right.

130. BSA xxviii (1926-7) 49-57, figs.1-4; cf. II.n.12. For convenience I list here the other find spots of Geometric pottery in and near Sparta: (1) North of Akropolis: BSA xiii, pl.1, L11 - "a domestic and commercial area": BSA xxvi.117 (Tray 3032, a few sherds only); (2) Theatre (Tray 3066, small tin tray of slipped sherds from Akropolis débris); (3) Heroon (Tray 2577: c.8 sherds: BSA xii.288 ff.); (4) BSA xiii, pl.1, O15 (north of Orthia: BSA xii.293); (5) BSA xiii, pl.1, N13: see n.106; (6) BSA xiii, pl.1, K14-5 (Tray 2575, few sherds from on and around a Hellenistic tomb: BSA xiii. 161; I.vi and n.367); (7) "Agora" area: AD xix.1 (1964) 133, L15; cf. I.n.368; (8) Laskaris property: n.106; (9) Menelaion (Trays 2431-2, several hundred sherds: BSA xv.150).

131. See text and nn.65-7.

132. Lane, LVP at 101-15, figs.1-9 and pls.20-5.

133. Courbin, CGA i.500-5; cf. reviews by Coldstream, JHS lxxxviii (1968) 235-7; H. Metzger, REG lxxxi (1968) 141-5. The small quantity and poor preservation of the Corinthian imports (cf. n.92) preclude a similarly close comparison.

134. GGP ch.9, pl.46; cf. 330, 364-5; reviewed by Boardman, Gnomon xlii (1970) 493-503; and J. M. Cook, CR n.s. xx (1970) 226-7, who notes "the abstention from comment on ... Realien".

135. GKG 66-70 = Greek Geometric Art (1971) 63-7 (figs.24 and 26 are printed upside-down in the English edition); cf. n.1.

136. DAG 88-9, 130-1.

137. I have not seen the M.A. thesis on Lakonian Geometric pottery submitted to the University of Sydney c.1970 by Roy Darling.

138. I agree fully with Boardman, op.cit.(n.134) 500 that "Coldstream's long chapter on Historical Conclusions provides the major justification for this exhaustive study of pottery styles".

139. About 7,000 were actually excavated, but see II.n.12. The all-black sherds (BSA xxviii.54; AO 56) have been discarded.

140. This section, like the preceding one, applies to both my LG and Transitional phases.

141. On the difficulties of description, see Cook, GPP^2 247-8. A number of sherds that are brick-red in the break but grey on the outer surfaces (e.g. Heidelberg pl.134.25) may have been secondarily fired.

142. Lane 100 n.4.

143. Snodgrass, DAG 89 notes that in other fabrics slip was most regular in those of Samos and, to a lesser degree, Chios, This may be significant: see (e).

144. Lane 105, with nn.121-2 above.

145. The orange-red clay and its slip were fired at low temperatures (cf. n.148) and both are highly friable.

146. Droop, BSA xxviii.50; AO 60. The figure of two-thirds slipped at Amyklai (VA 50) applies only to the "Geometric" pottery found in a stratum physically differentiated from the one containing the almost entirely slipless PG.

147. Cf. Cook, GPP^2 248. Courbin, CGA i.504 and Coldstream, GGP 215 surprisingly describe it as "thick".

148. Lane 105 points out that, if the slip was omitted, a higher firing-temperature was possible and the glaze on unslipped ware might thereby be "shot with an iridescent gleam of green".

149. Coldstream 215.

150. GGP 214-5.

151. VA pl.11.1-6 (perhaps from a single closed shape, with gear-pattern and single zigzag); VA pl.8 (diagonally hatched meander). But see n.154.

152. GGP pl.46e (amphora-sherd from the Akropolis showing a panel of concentric circles filled with a reserved cross and surrounded by massed dots at the corners): but see next note; an unpublished fragment from Amyklai with star-panels now in Frankfurt (cf. Courbin, CGA ii, pl.56, C.837 and C.59: both MGI).

153. For the Attic imports (krater-sherd on the Akropolis, skyphos-sherd from Amyklai), Coldstream 214 n.4. In my judgement GGP pl. 46e is an Argive MG import (clay-colour, treatment of the circles).

154. I am not clear that the sherds cited in n.151 are MG and not LG. The only certain imitation is the Frankfurt fragment (n.152).

155. Snodgrass, DAG 134-5 (Euboea, Elis, Phokis, Lokris and, significantly, Messenia).

156. ILL.III.5 is largely based on Lane fig.2, which entirely supersedes Droop, BSA xiii.122, fig.2 = AO fig.31 (roundly condemned by Kunze, Gnomon ix.3-4). Despite the caption, Droop's reconstitutions were often the reverse of "probable"!

157. Pelagatti, op.cit. (n.121) 8 n.9 is more optimistic than I (or Skeat, Dorians 31), when she writes: "un esamo diretto die pezzi induce a credere che in molti casi questo lavoro (sc. di ricostruzione) poteva essere tentato con qualche profitto".

158. Apart from examples that are either published or illustrated in my FIGS., I shall cite here and throughout only a few representative examples from the Trays in the Sparta Museum (Appendix VI), mainly to illustrate the range of findspots.

159. (a) Akropolis: 2947; (b) Orthia: 2349, 2351; (c) Menelaion 2431. It is not possible, as it was with PG, either to identify skyphos-sherds or distinguish skyphos-types on grounds of decoration alone, but the shape seems to have maintained its popularity.

160. II.iii (b) 1(1), where derivation and function are also discussed.

161. Known at Amyklai (VA 49), but unexampled in the Argolid: Courbin, CGA i.504. ILL.III.5a = FIG.30 (Akropolis) is a deeper relative with near-vertical walls.

162. Lane 103-4 and n.1 compared Attic examples (cf. Schweitzer, GKG 66-7 n.47), but the Argive analogy cited by Coldstream 216 n.4 CGA ii, pl.57: C.2431) is more apposite, as we shall see. Interestingly, Courbin, CGA i.503 suggested Lakonia may have been the donor.

163. AO fig.39s (Akropolis). Coldstream 216 n.5 cites Lane pl.21c (= ILL.III.5i) as another example, but this has a quite different (slightly everted) lip and the junction between lip and body is marked by a groove.

164. (a) Amyklai: 798 (FIG.26); GGP pl.46o (FIG.27b: dismembered); (b) Akropolis: GGP pl.46f. (FIG.28c); (c) Orthia: Cambridge pl.3.22, Lane pl.23f = GGP pl.46p (ILL.III.5w;FIG.29b: upside-down). There are krateriskoi (probably) in Orthia 2349, 2353. Unlike the skyphoi (see n.159) decoration can now supplement size as a criterion for distinguishing krater-sherds. Sherds with concentric circles comprised about 13 percent. of all the sherds from the Akropolis: BSA xxviii.50 (20 percent. of the c.65 percent. unslipped; 2.1 percent. of the c.35 percent. slipped).

165. GGP pl.46o: joining fragments particularly revealing of external connections; see (d).

166. Lane 104 cites an example from Orthia whose diameter at the lip he estimates to have been c.70 cm. He also believes AO fig.41A (for the iconography, see (h) and nn.525-31) comes from a bowl of this type and judges the angular kink at the base of the bowl to be a link with his (later) "Transitional" and "Orientalising".

167. Lane pl.20a (UP); unpublished examples in Orthia 2356, 2358. Cambridge pl.4.9 is a miniature from Orthia; another in Akropolis 2460 with high-swung handles.

168. See n.120; the glaze is very metallic. GGP pl.46l (FIG.31) may be either a deep cup or pyxis, according to taste; the collared rim is unique.

169. AO 56, discovered too late to be included in AO fig.31 (on which, see n.156).

170. AO fig.83.1 should be emended to include G(eometric) in the brackets; AO fig.55 is a pleasing example of the Lakonian II (c. 620-580) development.

171. Either from ILL.III.5a = FIG.30, through ILL.III.5b; or from a common Attic family of shapes recently well discussed by S. McNally, AJA lxxiii (1969) 459-64 (but there are no certain fragments in Sparta). Schweitzer, GKG 67 less plausibly derives it from (local?) embossed metalwork: cf. n.225.

172. This identification was first proposed by Droop, BSA xiv.31 n.3 and has been accepted by Lane and most others (including me). However E. Kirsten, "Kothon in Sparta und Karthago", Fest. E. Langlotz (1957) 110-8 has identified this common shape with the Kothon mentioned in a Spartan context by the Athenian oligarch Kritias (fr. 34 DK). Perhaps a more likely candidate for the Kothon is Lane fig.11C (Lakonian II): I. Scheibler, AA 1968, 392-3 n.27.

173. Something like it is known in Attic (Kerameikos v.1, pl.98.4574) and Boeotian (Lane 102 n.2; Coldstream 204 n.10; Heidelberg pl.117.4 (Canciani follows Kirsten)). Courbin, CCA i.503 suggests the lakaina shape may have influenced the lip of e.g. Müller, Tiryns pl.15.10.

174. Lane 195, Index s.v. (LG - Lakonian IV); cf. O. Waldhauer, JdI xxxviii-ix (1923-4) 28-31 (development); Pelagatti, Annuario xxxiii-iv.22 nn.2-3 (Taranto grave-offering).

175. The published examples from Lakonia are all from Orthia: Cambridge pl.3.5; CVA, Michigan i (U.S.A.3, 1933) pl.12.2; Lane pl.20e = GGP pl.46m (miniature). Unpublished examples in (a) Akropolis: 2951; (b) Menelaion: 2431-2; it was conspicuously less common at Amyklai: VA 49. For the export to Asea (grave?), see n.116.

176. The commonest types are AO fig.31 p, r (reliable here!); (a) Akropolis: Cambridge pl.3.102; (b) Orthia: Cambridge pl.3.9. Cf. Courbin, CGA ii, pl.87 (C.2707).

177. VA 49, describing the examples cited in n.179. It is certainly not always easy to distinguish a pyxis from a deep cup: e.g. GGP pl. 46j (Orthia), with Lane 104-5; Coldstream 216; or AO fig.38y, which Coldstream considers to be a pyxis but compares for its foot to the Volimidhia tankard.

178. However, Coldstream has also suggested Corinth to me: see e.g. GGP pl.20h.

179. Wide, op.cit.(n.125) fig.41 (N.M. 233); GGP pl. 46n (N.M.234).

180. Courbin, CGA i.503; but see the Argive example cited in n.176. For the import of straight-sided PC pyxides, see n.382. Lane 105 remarks on the Lakonian predilection for tall cylindrical shapes from LG to late Archaic times.

181. Richter-Milne, SNAV 20.

182. Orthia 2349, 2356.

183. Akropolis 2956 (unarticulated profile): I agree with Coldstream, GGP 215 n.6 that Lane fig.2W (pl.20d) is later than LG (hence ILL. III.10ff); it is indeed a good example of Subgeometric stricto sensu (Transitional shape, LG decoration). For the name "kalathos", Richter-Milne, SNAV 13-14.

184. For a salutary warning against the loose usage of this term in reference to Greek economic organisation, see Ed. Will, "Archéologie et histoire économique", Etudes d'Archéologie Classique i (1955-6) 149-66, at 153-5.

185. AO 106; cf. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.290-1. Decoration, apart from a simple red or black all-over wash, runs to nothing more exciting than thick bands or crosses, as Cambridge pl.3.23 from Orthia. The series begins perhaps in LG (the stratigraphical evidence is inconclusive), but reaches its apogee in the Archaic period.

186. Since many fragments cannot be certainly attributed to LG, I have listed all known to me in n.430.

187. LVP 110.

188. FIG.32: D. 19 (Orthia).

189. Pelagatti, op.cit. (n.121) gives a full publication with citation of parallels for shape and decoration from several local styles.

190. Kerameikos v.1, pl.102.878; vi.2, pls.22-4; cf. Courbin, CGA i.135, 262 and n.2. There are unpublished reflex handles in Orthia 2358 and the B.M. (1922.2-12.387, from Orthia).

191. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.81-7; cf. D. Feytmans, BCH lxxxvi (1962) 119-20. For the profile of Annuario cit., fig.1, cf. Perachora ii.83, no.725; for fig.2, cf. loc.cit., no.744.

192. LVP 104: now in Orthia 2350.

193. Disposing mainly of sanctuary-deposits, we are unlikely to have access to the full range of Lakonian shapes anyway, but closed vases will tend to be even more poorly represented than the open.

194. E.g. VA pl.12; cf. NOTE on handles (below) and n.217.

195. PG: II.iii (b) (6); Transitional: ILL.III.10r.

196. Heidelberg pl.134. 24; also published is Heidelberg pl.134. 25. Unpublished fragments in (a) Akropolis: 2453, 2457, 2458; (b) Orthia: 2348, 2353; (c) Heroon: 2577.

197. AO 56; Lane pl.20b (no scale, but probably miniature); Orthia: 2360 (FIG.13a). E. Diehl, Die Hydria (1964) is a comprehensive survey (Lakonian LG is glanced at on p.52).

198. (a) Akropolis: 2951 (probably the neck-fragment which "inspired" AO fig.31o, lambasted by Kunze, Gnomon ix.4 and Lane 104); (b) Orthia: 2349, 2353, 2360. For the oinochoe (?) ILL.III.5v, see n. 309.

199. This striking feature occurs among the putatively Lakonian finds from Tegea: see n.115.

200. (a) Amyklai: Cambridge pl.3.86; (b) Orthia: Cambridge pl.3.15; Lane pl.20f. Unpublished sherds in (a) Akropolis: 2458, 2951; (b) Orthia: 3037 (FIG.16a).

201. See my comments on II.iii (b) (8)-(9). For the name, used in antiquity to describe any form of oil-container, J. D. Beazley, BSA xxix (1927-8) 187-8; Richter-Milne, SNAV 14-16. The epigraphical "lekythos of Tataie" (Jeffery, LSAG 238, 240, no.3) is an archaeological aryballos; so is another Corinthian example referred to as "olpe".

202. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.35-50, with further bibliography on 35. Lakonian imports: BSA xxviii.80 (Akropolis); AO 114 and fig.84a (Orthia: one found on the cobble pavement; cf. n.81). An unillustrated example in Orthia 2402.

203. Cambridge pl.3.20 (Orthia); unpublished example in Orthia 2348 (FIG.33a). Lane fig.4 is either LG or Transitional. For imports of the EPC originals, see BSA xxviii. 80 (Akropolis); AO 114 with fig.84b (Orthia: cf. Boardman, AOC 2).

204. See n.80. Droop, BSA xiii.124 compares a fragment from Amyklai (SMC 798 (2)), which I have not seen (fishes); Dunbabin, Perachora ii.20 (no.60) remarks that on the PC originals the internal markings of fishes are more usually reserved than incised. For the incision, see Droop, BSA xxviii. 53, AO 63; Kunze, Gnomon ix. 4. The most recent reference to this controversial fragment is H. -G. Buchholz-G. Jöhrens-I. Maull, "Jagd und Fischfang", Archaeologia Homerica ii.J (1973) 160, no.14.

205. C. H. E. Haspels, BSA xxix (1927-8) 216-23; cf. generally Beazley, "Aryballos", BSA xxix. 187-215 (discusses i.a. the conventional archaeological terminology).

206. Lane 105, pl.21d (with trefoil-lip).

207. Lane 105, fig.10a: C. M. Robertson, BSA xliii (1948) 90 n.2 compares Rev. Arch.^{3} xxxvii.2 (1900) 143, fig.28 (Kephallenia).

208. Cf. S. Benton, BSA xlviii (1953) 329. On the dearth of lamps in Dark Age Greece in general, see T. B. L. Webster, Lustrum i (1956) 90-1; U. Jantzen-R. Tölle, "Beleuchtungsgerät", Archaeologia Homerica ii. P (1968) 83-98, esp. 96-7 and n.511.

209. AO fig.35; and an unpublished fragment in Orthia 2353 (FIG.14b). For the significance of the pomegranate in cult, see n.477.

210. AO 59, with Kunze, Gnomon ix.3.

211. Courbin, CGA ii, pl.90 (C.2447, 2444: both LG 2c): perhaps borrowed from Lakonia? Note that the Mycenaean example from Athens is so far unique: S. Immerwahr, Agora xiii (1971) 228-9 (P 27028).

212. AO fig.83.18.

213. Cambridge pl.4.6 (round mouth), 4.7 (bottle-necked), 4.8 (trefoil-lipped): all from Orthia.

214. AO fig.82 k,l; Cambridge pl.4.1-5 (misleadingly called "kantharos"). See also n.185.

215. 2348 (FIG.17f), 2349, 2353 (FIG.14f), 2356 (nicked in imitation of a rope handle, for whose popularity in Argive MG II, see Coldstream, GGP 121 and n.11), 2358, 2360. I cannot account for its absence from the other sites, but see II.nn.86-7.

216. (a) Akropolis: 2453 (FIG.34f), 2458; (b) Orthia: 2353 (FIG.14j). The Akropolis 2458 example is very like Dunbabin, Perachora ii, pl.18, nos.307, 311; cf. also AO pl.87 i,k (later bronze plaques).

217. VA pl.12 gives a fair idea; cf. Courbin, CGA i.134-6, ii, pls.110-1. VA pl.12, second row left (tripartite with flattened central member flanked by rounded members) recalls CGA i.136, ii, pl.113 (C.201: krater); VA pl.12, second row right resembles CGA ii, pl. 111 (C.12); for an example in Orthia 3038, cf. CGA ii, pl.111 (C.15) and for one from Akropolis 2957, cf. CGA ii, pl.110 (C.204).

218. Orthia 2351 (massive).

219. See n.190.

220. FIG.26; VA fig.30. The whole scheme, including the decoration of birds under the arches, is borrowed from Argive; cf. CGA ii, pl.113 (C.210). N.P. Oakeshott, "Horned-head vase handles", JHS lxxxvi (1966) 114-32 has argued that this type is derived from LH III C (notably the Warrior Vase from Mycenae), but see J. Carter, "The Beginning of Narrative Art in the Greek Geometric Period", BSA lxvii (1972) 32 n.37. In any case, the connection in Lakonia could only be indirect in view of the near-total break here between LH III C and PG (II.iii).

221. Cambridge pl.3.16 (Orthia); an unpublished example in Akropolis 2957. Perhaps this is the forerunner of the Transitional strap-handle, as Lane pl.22b.

222. Orthia 2409 (FIG.22b): two dotted examples, one going with a plate as AO fig.31 i (they are perhaps rather Transitional).

223. Cambridge pl.3.14 (Orthia); the unpublished examples are all from Orthia too (cf. n.215: twisted handles). For Argive, see GGP pls. 22e-f, 23h; an example from Delphi of uncertain fabric had shiny black metallic paint: BCH lxxiv (1950) 322, fig.30, pl.39, top left.

224. Coldstream, GGP pl.46o; cf. Courbin, CGA i.134 (Cycladic parallels), ii, pl.43 (C.201), 48 (C.242). Courbin is no doubt correct in suggesting that by this time "mastoi" have a purely utilitarian (or decorative?) function, but for earlier examples closer to the presumed (human) original form, see E. L. Smithson, Hesperia xxxvii (1968) 97; cf. for a survey from LH III C-LG, Bouzek, Eirene viii (1970) 104-10.

225. I think that in this instance the inspiration of metalwork is undeniable, but, unlike Schweitzer, GKG 67 (final sentence), I find no evidence for the derivation by potters of whole LG shapes from this source; cf. D. Kent Hill, AJA 1i (1947) 248-56, who argues that this type of inference becomes plausible only when dealing with post-fifth century B.C. shapes.

226. GGP 6.

227. This was an era of movement abroad, in which Greek emigrants carried with them, imported and imitated the fashions current in the homeland: see most neatly F. Villard-G. Vallet, "Géométrique grec, géométrique sicéliote, géométrique sicule", MEFR lxviii (1956) 7-27; cf. Boardman, "Greek Potters at Al Mina?", Anat.Stud. ix (1959) 163-9.

228. The introduction of a "Geometric" figure-style posed its own rather different problems: see the second part of this subsection.

229. E.g. Lane, LVP fig.3 and VA fig.29. Their usefulness lies elsewhere, in providing a quick conspectus of the range of motifs and a visual aid to description, and for these reasons they have been reproduced here (with some alterations) as ILLS.III.8 and 9 respectively.

230. Apart from the majority (but not all) of the silhouette bird-files, the Lakonian figure-style was also heavily Argive-dependent.

231. Courbin, CGA i.355-67 devotes the largest amount of space to the meander in his exhaustive account of Argive linear decorative motifs. The quantity and nature of his material allow him to speculate on the rhythm and direction of the internal development of the several variants.

232. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, "Der Mäander auf geometrischen Gefässe", MarbW Pr. 1962, 10-43; ibid., "Über einige gegenstandliche Bedeutungsmöglichkeiten des frühgriechischen Ornaments", Abhandl. Akad. Mainz vii (1968) 261-346, esp. 328ff. In the latter paper the author considers the possible origin and significance of a motif that has cropped up in a number of cultures widely disparate in time, place and level of development. In my view, the derivation from basketry or other forms of weaving is as likely an explanation as any and it is worse than useless to speculate about its possible symbolic significance.

233. Droop, AO 56 is simply wrong.

234. Coldstream, GGP Index s.v. "Meander", "Meander Hook" gives references to some typical examples in his work.

235. F. Hiller, Lexikon zur Alten Welt (1965) 2166 gives a magnificent, rolling, one-sentence (79 words!) description.

236. The one exception (FIG.20h) is surely an Attic import.

237. The illustrations to CGA suggest the following broad distinction: oblique hatching (adapted from Attic) for smaller and simpler versions, perpendicular (an Argive invention) for the larger and more complex.

238. Amyklai: VA pl.8. Unpublished examples in (a) Akropolis: 2944, 2949, 2957; (b) Orthia: 2350.

239. Amyklai: VA pl.8 (cf. the meander on the well-known terracotta from Amyklai of c.700: see n.879); an unpublished fragment in Orthia 2349. For the relative lateness of this form in the Argolid, Courbin, CGA i.361. It features more prominently in the Transitional phase.

240. Orthia: AO fig.38c, u. Unpublished examples in Akropolis 2453, 2957. Cf. Courbin, CGA ii, pl.83 and passim.

241. Akropolis 2947.

242. Three oddities merit reference: AO fig.39h (Akropolis) has an upright (suspended?) diagonally hatched meander, unique in attested Lakonian; zigzag replaces the hatching in ILL.III.7m (another similar in Orthia 2355); for the cross-hatched meander, see n.248.

243. ILL.III.6 (restored pyxis: UP); Coldstream pl.46o (krater from Amyklai); a tiny unpublished example in Orthia 2360 (FIG.21l). On the step-meander, Courbin, CGA i.361.

244. BSA xxviii.52, fig.1n. For the opaque meander, cf. VA pl.10; Courbin CGA ii, pl.26. See also perhaps the (later) Samian krater: AM lviii (1933) 86, fig.32.

245. MarbWPr. 1962, 18ff.

246. AO fig.38a (Orthia).

247. VA pl.6, hence ILL.III.8e.

248. Akropolis 2453 (FIG. 34d).

249. See n.311.

250. See n.243, with Coldstream, GGP 217.

251. Coldstream pl.46k (FIG.30); cf. n.161.

252. See n.246.

253. Akropolis 2945: Lane pl.20d (inside). Lane pl.22c (plate)may, like his fig.2w (ILL.III.10ff), be Transitional. Cf. Courbin, CGA ii, pl.25 (C.11).

254. To these should be added the halved lozenge (cross-bar sloping diagonally upwards from left to right or vice versa): Akropolis 2944, 2949; and the outlined elongated oval filled with two diagonal cross-bars sloping upwards from left to right: Akropolis 2956.

255. (a) Amyklai: Wide (n.125) fig.41; (b) Orthia: Cambridge pl.3.7; (c) Scoglio del Tonno: Pelagatti (n.121) fig.1b. Many unpublished examples in Akropolis 2949, 2956.

256. (a) Amyklai: FIG.27b; Heidelberg pl.134.25; (b) Orthia: ILL.III.6; Lane pl.21c,h; Cambridge pl.3.11. Unpublished: Akropolis 2457 (FIG.35b), 2453 (FIG.36f) and many in 2949.

257. For the derivation from the Argolid, II.n.141. Argive examples: Courbin, CGA ii, pls.34 (C.703), 63 (C.2441).

258. Courbin, CGA ii, pl.48 (C.239, 252) etc.

259. GGP 396. Published are (a) Amyklai: Wide fig.41; GGP pl.46o; (b) Akropolis: AO fig.39s; (c) Orthia: GGP pl.46h (FIG.32). Unpublished: FIGS. 35b, 36f.

260. To the examples already cited, add Orthia 2354 (lakaina), 3037 (FIG.16a: lekythos-neck).

261. E.g. ILL.III.6 (pyxis).

262. Amyklai: FIG.7b (tripod-leg); FIG.27b (krater). Unpublished: Akropolis 2453 (FIG.34f: lekythos-handle), 2956 (outlined).

263. FIG.27b.

264. (a) Amyklai: VA pl.9; Cambridge pl.3.85; (b) Orthia: ILL.III.7a. Unpublished: Akropolis 2453 (FIG.36b), 2947, 2956. FIG.29d is of unknown provenience.

265. Courbin, CGA ii, pl.25 left; N. Verdhelis, AM lxxviii (1963) 49, Beil. 23.2.

266. Courbin, CGA i.503; Coldstream 146, 217.

267. Amyklai: VA pl.12; Lane pl.21a (UP). Unpublished: (a) Akropolis: 2457, 2947; (b) Orthia:2358, 2409, 2411 (many).

268. Lane 107 ("another experiment in tone values"). For the exports, see nn.121-2. In some cases (e.g. Lane pl.20a) massed zigzags and wavy lines are in the "unslipped linear" manner.

269. (a) Akropolis: AO fig.39f; Cambridge pl.3.105; (b) Orthia: Cambridge pl.3.8. Unpublished: (a) Amyklai: 2640; (b) Akropolis 2457 (FIG.35d,e, as ILL.III.8t); (c) Orthia: 2353, 2358 (as ILL.III. 8s). Cf. Courbin, CGA ii, pls.100, 124, 139, 140. Motifs of this type lend themselves most readily to symbolic solar interpretations, but see Schweitzer, Gnomon x (1934) 337-53, esp.350-2 (review of works by A. Roes); cf. n.362. Bouzek, "Die Anfänge des griechisch-geometrischen Symbolguts", Eirene viii (1970) 97-122, at 98-101 derives them from the latest Mycenaean phase.

270. (a) Amyklai: VA pl.5 bottom left; (b) Akropolis: BSA xxviii. 52, fig.1a; (c) Orthia: GGP pl.46p. Unpublished: (a) Akropolis: 2944, 2945, 2958; (b) Orthia 2348 (FIG.17e), 2358, 2360 (FIG.21f), 2409 (FIG.22g). Cf. Courbin, CGA ii, pls.41 (C.210/B), 121 (C.4211, 731, 4314, 4303); see also n.297.

271. GGP 214,pl.46g (Akropolis, not Orthia: fragments now in 2458 and 2944).

272. E. g. Courbin, CGA ii, pls.11, 83, 100ff., 125 (C.709), 129 (C.1037); CVA, Michigan i (U.S.A. 3, 1933) pl.12.1a.

273. (a) Amyklai: FIG.27b; (b) Akropolis: BSA xxviii.52, fig.1b. Unpublished examples (same pot?) in Orthia 2360 (FIG.21a), 2409 (FIG.22h). It is known also in Crete and Thera: see n.312.

274. Best seen in VA pl.8 top right; another in FIG.20j (Akropolis 2949). Cf. Courbin, CGA ii, pls.49 (C.1019, 764) and esp. 51 (C.305).

275. Courbin, CGA i.503. Add perhaps ILL.III.8j (as Heidelberg pl.134. 24) with Courbin ii, pl.40 (C.240). The dotted chequers and spirals will be dealt with as Transitional.

276. To name but two: (1) the opaque circle or elongated blob (borderline between LG and Transitional) used as the main motif on a skyphos (ILL.III.5n): (a) Akropolis: 2457, 2944, 2947 (FIG.20c,e),2949 (FIG. 20a,b,d); (b) Orthia: 2402 (FIG.37g); (c) Heroon: 2577; cf. Courbin ii, pl.57 (C.564). (When used as a subsidiary band of ornament, it can be either LG (FIG.29b) or Transitional (FIG.38)). (2) white slip as overpainted decoration, mainly dots (ILL.III.7u), zigzag (ILL.III.7p,q: cf. Heidelberg pl.134.25; AO figs.38g,x, 39n , 40m; Cambridge pl.3.109) and in one case meander (cited in BSA xxviii. 53-4). On added white in Lakonian LG, Droop, BSA xxviii.53-4, AO 56; von Massow, VA 50; in Argive, Courbin, CGA i.287-8 ("kaolin with,possibly,the addition of manganese"); ii, pl.114 (C.3798).

277. Coldstream 98-102, 404-5 (bibliography), Payne NC 1 characterised it as "colourless, unambitious, but exceptionally competent".

278. For their "malerisch" bent, see text and n.380; for some remarks on the introduction of figures into an essentially linear style, see n.339, end.

279. On the EPC figure-style, see Johansen, VS ch.2; Payne, NC ch.1; ibid., PV; Dunbabin and Robertson, BSA xlviii (1953) 172-81, at 173-5. C. Roebuck, "Some Aspects of Urbanisation in Corinth", Hesperia xli (1972) 96-127 surveys the archaeological and literary evidence for the development of Corinth in the second half of the eighth century; cf. J. B. Salmon, "The Heraeum at Perachora and the Early History of Corinth", BSA lxvii (1972) 159-204.

280. GGP 105.

281. See further iii(e).

282. Cf. GGP 95-6 (Corinthian MG II), 99 (LG, commonly applied to the kotyle). AO fig.84c is an imported late EPC kotyle; cf. BSA xxviii. 80.

283. AO figs. 33, 38 s, t, w; Cambridge pl.3.4 (all Orthia); cf. ILL.III. 11a; and Akropolis 2949. Relevant PC comparanda: Dunbabin, Perachora ii.85, no.727; D. Feytmans, BCH lxxxvi (1962) 119-20.

284. E.g. Lane pl.20d (Akropolis 2945). For the Corinthian MG II origins, GGP 98.

285. Probably a simplification of the cable or guilloche: Kunze, KB 93. In Lakonian LG its use heralds the onset of Transitional.

286. Orthia: AO fig.38r (FIG.14j); several unpublished handles in Orthia 2358 (one with serpent on both sides). This is a new EPC linear motif: Coldstream 106; it is to be distinguished from the true serpent (with head), which is Transitional: text and n.412.

287. Orthia: AO fig.38i (FIG.14e); another identical in Orthia 2358 (leg of stand with incised tangential circles; for the bronze original iv (b) 6.A.5). For the incised fish, see n.204; bibliography on Corinthian incision, Starr, OGC 235 n.6. This is perhpas the place to note the curious impressed coarse ware found both on the Akropolis (BSA xxviii. 78-9, fig.19; FIG.40a) and at Orthia (Tray 3036); cf. n.309. A similar coarse fabric, but lacking the impressed circles, was fairly common at Orthia (3036-7).

288. See n.204. Note also Lane 122 n.5: "BSA xxviii. 52 fig.1g is not Geometric, but a careless, unslipped piece of the archaic period".

289. Droop considers its use on the aryballos (n.204) to have been an afterthought.

290. Lane 100 notes the parting of the ways.

291. E.g. the dotted lozenge-net of FIG.39b: cf. Coldstream 106 (EPC); the "butterfly" or "double axe" of Akropolis 2945: cf. S. Weinberg, Corinth vii.1 (1943) 89; the spidery motif of BSA xxviii. 52, fig. 1h; possibly the opaque blobs (but see n.276): cf. Dunbabin, Perachora ii, pl.27.568-79; possibly the wavy line scheme of AO fig.40k; cf. Johansen, VS 8, fig.2; Kunze, Gnomon ix.5.

292. But it continued into Transitional.

293. (a) Amyklai, ILL.III.9o; Wide fig.41; (b) Orthia: AO fig.38a. Numerous unpublished examples of the various combinations among the Akropolis and Orthia fragments: e.g. FIGS.14h, 21j, m, n, 23e, 35c. Courbin, CGA i.504 remarks on the absence from the Argolid of piles of juxtaposed triangles as on AO fig.35 (pomegranate); cf.n.302.

294. (a) Amyklai: ILL.III.9 f,g; (b) Akropolis: BSA xxviii.52, fig.1b; AO fig.39o.

295. See text and n.248; but also text and n.311.

296. Orthia 2353 (FIG.14b): appreciably less frequent than in PG.

297. See n.270. This is thought to be a typically Lakonian variation, so Courbin, CGA ii, pl.121 (C.4211) should perhaps be added to Courbin's very short list (CGA i.503) of possible Argive borrowings from Lakonian.

298. Akropolis 2944.

299. Akropolis 2957.

300. But kissing and even intersecting circles are known: e.g. (a) Amyklai: VA pl.8; (b) Akropolis: 2453 (FIG.34b); (c) Orthia: 2402 (FIG.37a).

301. AO fig.38y.

302. FIG.28c (Akropolis); an unpublished example in Akropolis 2946. Courbin, CGA i.504 points out that two superimposed rows of the same motif are unknown in the Argolid, but found in Tegea: BCH xlv (1921) 409, fig.55, no.308; another from Sparta (Akropolis): AO fig.39s.

303. See nn.271, 274. Coldstream describes the circle and window combination as "extremely rare" in Argive, but to the Argive comparandum cited in GGP 214 n.11, add CGA ii, pl.48 top right.

304. See esp. Akropolis 2944 (48 examples), 2947 (130). For statistics relevant to understanding the relationship between PG and LG - further considered in (e) - see n.164. Several of the circles were dotted, others were associated with stars (as FIG.34a), which drop out (along with the circles themselves and cross-hatching) as the unslipped ware gives way to the slipped (BSA xxviii.51). The source of the maltese-cross central filling on sherds in Akropolis 2944, 2947, 2958 is uncertain.

305. (a) Amyklai: FIG.27a; (b) Orthia: Cambridge pl.3.8. Also used as a band of continuous ornament: ILLS.III.6, 9k.

306. Except perhaps ILL.III. 7r; cf. FIG.28 a,b (UP).

307. See n.284. The modification may, however, have been derived from "backwoods Argive", as Coldstream has suggested to me.

308. (a) Akropolis: AO fig.39 l,m,n; (b) Orthia: CVA, Michigan i, pl. 12.2 (inside lakaina); AO figs.34 (FIG.32), 38b,y; Cambridge pl.3. 17; Lane pl.20c,e (= GGP pl.46m); (c) Volimidhia: see nn.120, 168 (this indicates the relative speed with which the motif was adopted, for the seven associated Corinthian vases were of an early stage of LG; cf. n.390). Sensibly, the system was generally confined to the smaller, open shapes.

309. Coldstream 228. There are two possible links with Ithaka: (1) opaque circles or blobs: BSA xliii (1948) pl.19.320 (but see nn. 276, 291); (2) impressed circles: BSA xliii, pl.33.498. The oinochoe (?) ILL.III.5v (Lane 104, pl.20c) may be connected with Achaia; cf. Coldstream 230, pl.50g.

310. Schweitzer, GKG 72-5, fig.82; J. K. Brock, Fortetsa (BSA Supp. ii, 1957) 176-7, esp. 9u, 9aa. Lane 105-6, however, thought the connection was simply one of chronological coincidence; certainly, there are no signs of influence from the Cretan or Cycladic styles.

311. Cross-hatched meander: Coldstream pl.62d,h (Rhodian); W. Technau, AM liv (1929) 11, fig.2.3 = H. Walter, Samos v (1968) 105, no. 243, and Walter 100, no.149 (Samian). Gridded: Technau 12, fig.3. 3; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, MarbWPr. 1962, 29, fig.31; 40 n.87.

312. Crete: Schweitzer, GKG fig.36; Thera: GKG fig.82.

313. See n.272.

314. Coldstream pl.51b: this is "PGB", a nonconformist and therefore hard to date style; it is usually thought to end before 800, but Carter, op.cit. (n.220) 36 n.64 is prepared to lower it to 775, and a considerably later terminal date is advocated by J. L. Clough, Untersuchungen zum Archaismus an kretischen Gefässen und Kleinplastiken aus Ton und Bronze des 8. und des frühen 7. Jhs.v. Chr. (Diss. München, 1972) ch.2.

315. Rhodian: GGP pl.62f (almost exact parallel); Samian: Technau (n. 311) 18, fig.10; Walter, pl.32.170.

316. See n.143.

317. This cannot be argued in detail here, but I believe the pattern of trading was probably irregular and unorganised at this time; cf. Starr, OGC 365.

318. See (g) 10 and nn.441-2.

319. On a rough calculation there are c.50 such pieces, many just tiny sherds with indecipherable figures (as FIG.21j).

320. GGP pl.46n.

321. GGP pl.46j. Together these may be thought an adequate basis for talking of a "style", though I would not press this.

322. (1) VA 52, pl.4.1 (FIG.27a: from same vase as VA fig.30) = Archaeologia Homerica J159, no.98. The reserved and dotted eye encircled by a band of added white paint gives this Raubfisch a strangely naturalistic appearance; cf. somewhat Hesperia xvii (1948) 208, C.1, pl.72 (certainly a fish: Courbin, CGA i.114 n.15); and CGA ii, pl.81 below. (2) The fishes on the shoulder of the aryballos (n.204) naturally find their closest parallels in Corinth: Dunbabin, Perachora ii.20, no.60; 36, no.208. (3) According to Droop, BSA xiii.124 n.1, AO 63, a fragment from Amyklai has decoration similar to (2), but I failed to find it.

323. AO fig.37F: Droop (AO 63 and 66) identifies this as part of a "potnia theron" scene, but it is not mentioned in Chr. Christou, Potnia Theron (1968); for the "Bildschema", cf. n.793 (ivory fibula-plaques). Hares in Attic and Boeotian LG, Coldstream 76, 208.

324. GGP pl.46n: a scorpion, according to Courbin, CGA i.503 (cf. the bone and ivory scorpion-intagli: AO 228, 234); but von Massow, VA 52 calls it "an interesting forerunner of the lizard on the Arkesilas-Cup".

324a. The dogs on PC imports (AO fig.70f; BSA xxviii.81) aroused no spirit of emulation.

325. This heterogeneity of types is important for two reasons: first, because arguments have been advanced for the existence of "Lakonian" and other regional styles of bronze bird-figurines; secondly, because the chronology of bronze figurines (horses, bulls and men as well as birds) has in the past been derived from that of the more securely dated vase-representations. These matters are raised again in iv(b) 4. I am not convinced by the attempt of Schweitzer, GKG 70 to identify different species on VA pl.5 (swan, goose, running ducks, strutting cocks).

326. Lakonian bird-files: VA pls.5-6; AO figs. 37G (cf. Dunbabin, Perachora ii. 67, no.498), 39s (cf. Perachora ii.68 n.1; our n. 302); ILL.III.6; FIGS.20k, 24a, 41b. PC imports: AO figs. 37B (cf. Perachora ii.67, no.498; 68 n.3), 37C (hatched body and crest). Selection of files on PC kotylai: Perachora ii, pl.25. Development from MG II naturalism to EPC stylisation: Coldstream 100,105; cf. his Index s.v. "Birds" "Soldierbirds" "Wirebirds".

327. VA pl.5 bottom right: cf. Coldstream 217, with pl.27c,d. The earliest reappearance of birds on Greek vases after the Mycenaean period is in Argive MG II (friezes): Courbin, CGA ii pl.77 (c.840); GGP pl.25h.

328. Similar variety in Argive LG: Courbin, CGA ii, pls.126-9. This ad hoc individualism in my view dooms any search for revealing parallels to futility.

329. VA pl.4.3 (FIG.42c).

330. FIG.27b.

331. See n.220.

332. See n.315. For the birds, cf. somewhat VA pl.5.

333. On horses in the art of "horse-rearing" (Il.ii.287 etc.) Argos, Starr, OGC 239; Courbin, CGA i.403-13, pls.133-7.

334. GGP pl.46o.

335. GGP 217.

336. Courbin, CGA i.503: AO fig.37H (GGP pl.46j.). Add FIG.36e (Akropolis 2453).

337. BSA xxviii.52, fig.1e. Perhaps the separate hoof of AO fig.40m (now in Oxford) is also diagnostic.

338. Apparently Lakonian mannerisms are the arched hindquarters of GGP pl.46j and the hatched rump of VA pl.5 second row right (cf. n. 347). The file (?) of grazing horses with reserved heads (BSA xxviii.52, fig.1f = FIG.43a) is inappropriately and overprecisely dated, by analogy with the Attic series, to the 720's by K. Kübler, Kerameikos vi.2 (1970) 48 n.87.

339. Carter, op.cit. (n.220) 35ff. is a most valuable discussion (the earliest example is the archer on a tenth-century hydria from Lefkandi: Desborough, GDA pl.42B). Carter firmly rejects the "Mycenaeanising" explanations of esp. J. L. Benson, Horse, Bird and Man (1971): cf. review by Coldstream, Gnomon xlvi (1974) 273-8; also Webster, Lustrum xv (1970) 11-12 for other works in this vein. I agree with Carter that this is an unnecessary and improbable hypothesis - certainly there can have been no such continuity, however dormant or submerged, in Lakonia. W. Kraiker, "Ornament und Bild in der frühgriechischen Malerei", Fest. B. Schweitzer (1954) 36-47 is interesting on the incompatibility between Geometric ideas of form and the irreducibly three-dimensional quality of animate nature as a factor in retarding the re-introduction of the human figure; cf. n.371.

340. They were also reserved respectively for the larger (Argive-inspired) and smaller (Corinth) shapes.

341. (a) Amyklai: VA pls.4.2,4,5 (FIG.42d); 5 top left; GGP pl.46n - cf. n.618 (hands); (b) Akropolis: BSA xxviii.52, fig.1e. Perhaps, as Coldstream 218 n.3 suggests, BCH xlv (1921) 409, fig.55. 275+ 282, 278 (= R. Tolle, Frühgriechische Reigentanze (1964) pl.25) are also Lakonian (from Tegea).

342. VA pl.5 top row (except far left); GGP pl.46p. Add FIG.43b.

343. GGP pl.46j; AO fig.37D = fig.38α; E; FIG.21j (Orthia 2360).

344. AO fig.38z; also reserved is the eye of one of the "horse-tamers" on GGP pl.46j.

345. Genitals: AO fig.38z, with Courbin, CGA i.503; cf. e.g. CGA ii, pls.43ff. (C.201). Belts: CGA i.503, pls.144-7; cf. n.372.

346. Courbin, CGA i.504.

347. Five other themes may be represented: (1) VA pl.5 top right: a centaur (VA 52) brandishing the canonical LG branch. If iv (b) 1.B. 27 is Lakonian, the vase-painting would not be isolated; cf. the possible LH III C centaur from Amyklai: II.n.40; and the later ivory plaque: Marangou, LEB no.25. On early Greek centaurs and their mythological associations, see generally Fittschen, UBSG 88-128; Carter (n.220) 45-50. (2) FIG.42a: unpublished sherd from Amyklai showing spear with throwing-loop. (3) Another unpublished sherd from Amyklai shows what may be part of the wheel and rail of a chariot, somewhat as the New York krater: G. Ahlberg, Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art (1971) fig.25. (4) See n.323 ("potnia theron"). (5) B.M. 1923.2-12. 457: file of warriors carrying shield and spear; see n.472.

348. Carter passim; cf. for reviews of important (and copious) recent work in this area, Bouzek, "New Studies in the Iconography of Early Greek Art", Eirene xi (1973) 189-94.

349. W. Helbig, Les ΙΠΠΕΙΣ Athéniens (1902) is a useful conspectus; for other references to horses, I.n.282; n.352 below. See further iv (b)1 (bronze horse figurines).

350. The horse was clearly important in Lakonian cult too, but it is not easy to penetrate the thicket of evidence, relating esp. to Athena and Poseidon but also to Artemis and Dionysos: for a host of references, Marangou, LEB Index s.v. "Pferde" "Pferdegöttin".

351. A. M. Snodgrass, "The First European Body Armour", Fest. C. F. C. Hawkes (1971) 45-6, pl.5; cf. Appendix XII and esp. its n.83.

352. J. K. Anderson, Ancient Greek Horsemanship (1961) ch.8, esp. 99ff. Hunting on horseback was a favourite Spartan pastime in a later period and its origins probably go back to LG times. Alkman (Partheneion 47, 51, 59) provides the bridge (c.600 B.C.) to the remarkable series of Spartan victories in four-horsed chariot racing (esp. at Olympia) recently discussed by de Ste. Croix, OPW App.28.

353. The quotation is from Starr, OGC 180. Compare in both respects the ship as depicted in Attic LG: G. S. Kirk, BSA xliv (1949) 93-153.

354. (1) VA pl.4.4-5 (FIG.42d): Tölle, op.cit. (n.341) 49-50, Kat.120, pl.26a (reconstruction) = M. Wegner, "Musik und Tanz", Archaeologia Homerica iii. U (1968) 83, no.149 (men or youths). (2) Lane pl.23f (women) is unaccountably omitted by both Tölle and Wegner. (3) AO fig.37D = 38α: Tölle 49, Kat.117 = Wegner 82, no.147 (women or girls). (4) Athens, N.M.234: see n.356.

355. Dickins, AO 172-3 discusses the literary evidence for ritual dances in connection with the terracotta masks dedicated principally to Orthia but also to Athena on the Akropolis. The men or youths of (1) (n.354) are consonant with Athenaios iv.139E (dancing in the "ancient style" at the Hyakinthia). On representations of round dances in bronze, Carter 36 n.67.

356. B. Aign, Die Geschichte der Musikinstrumente des Ägäischen Raumes bis um 700 vor Christus (Diss. Frankfurt, 1963) 86, V/5, figs. 49-50 (bibliography on 396) = Tölle 49, Kat.119 = Wegner 71, no.20.

357. Aign 85, V/4, fig.48 = Tölle 48-9, Kat.116 = Wegner 82, no.148.

358. See n.1051.

359. Aign 84, V/3, fig.47 = Wegner 82, no.139. This has been almost universally assigned to LH III B or C, but see iv(b) 10. A.6.

360. Non-metallic Mycenaean votive assemblage: II.n.40. For the suggestion that metal dedications should be associated with Apollo, II.v(b).

361. Nicklin, op.cit. (II.n.41) esp.27; cf. II.n.46.

362. Starr, OGC esp.199-203 exemplifies the insights into the Dark Age that can be gleaned from a study of the pottery; but the dangers attendant on interpreting any artefactual evidence in social, economic or political terms cannot be overemphasised: see II.n. 467. The symbolic interpretation of Geometric pottery motifs is particularly hazardous, but there are useful remarks in Schweitzer, op.cit. (n.269); Kraiker, BJ clxi (1961) 108-20; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, op.citt. (n.232). See also next note and n.371.

363. For the relationship between the artist and his society in the Dark Age, see N. Himmelmann, "Über bildende Kunst in der homerischen Gesellschaft", Abh. Akad.Mainz viii(1969); cf. Bouzek, Eirene xi (1973) 193-4. For later periods, H. Philipp, Tektonon Daidala (1968) ch.4, reviewed by Himmelmann, Gnomon xlii (1970) 290-7; Burford, CGRS esp. Index s.v. "Banausia complex" "Banausoi".

364. C. M. Robertson, BSA xlvi (1951) 151-9, at 152-4 has argued that in the Geometric period pottery-making was a major art: this view needs qualification in the light of later studies, esp. on metal-work, but derives support from Hesiod, WD 25 and the recently discovered earliest known craftsman's signature (if it is such) on a sherd from Pithekoussai (G. Buchner, AR 1970-1, 67, fig.8). See also n.594.

365. Influence revealed esp. in the pyxis and pomegranate shapes; meander, lozenge and wavy lines; figure-style.

366. Influence on plate, lekythos, aryballos and ring-vase; fine banding, metopes enclosing floating motifs; bird-files. It is not always certain whether the influence was transmitted during the currency of Corinthian LG or EPC.

367. The treatment of concentric circles, first stressed by Droop, AO 60-3 (cf. Coldstream, GGP 214-5) is particularly revealing: see nn.164,304.

368. There is a real problem in dating "West Greek" PG, but the most recent evidence from the settlement of Nichoria (II.n.99) bears out this view.

369. II.v(d), end; III.viii(b), beginning.

370. The needs of religion and material exchange will have been the chief motives: for the former, L. Gernet, "Fêtes de paysans", Le Génie grec dans la Religion (1932, 1970) ch.1 (note that strangers were welcomed to the Hyakinthia, according to Polykrates ap. Athenaios iv.138F); for the latter, the hypothetical model of J. Hicks, A Theory of Economic History (1969) ch.3 is stimulating. The rise of the "Panhellenic" sanctuary-sites like Olympia is just a special case of the general trend: H.-V. Herrmann, Olympia: Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte (1972) 7-14, 66-79.

371. Carter, op.cit. (n.220) addresses himself admirably to the problem of the origin of paradigmatically "Greek" (i.e. representational) art in the Geometric, esp. LG, period. The remarks of D. Fraser, Primitive Art (1966) Introduction, esp. 24-5, are particularly apposite here.

372. Müller, Tiryns i.146 n.4 thought AO fig.37D (= 38ℵ) was Argive on the grounds of the typically Argive trailing belt, but this is paralleled on Coldstream, GGP pl.46p (FIG.29b), which is certainly Lakonian; ibid. 148 for the view that "einige Scherbe von grossen Skyphoi" at Amyklai with characteristically Argive decoration (as GGP pl.46o) and clay different from that of the "'Lakonian-geometric' class" are imports - but there is sufficient variety in Lakonian clays (iii(b)) to cast doubt on this. Courbin, CGA i.550 generally agrees with Lane, LVP 111 that there are no Argive imports, but in loc.cit. n.1 suggests AO fig.37D,E (for D, see above) may be; on p.553 he observes that Argive exports coincide only very partially with Argive influence. For Argive MG imports, see n.152; the darkground oinochoe from Kythera (n.114) is not, as previously thought (GGP 352) an Argive MG II import but a local product under Argive influence. A few bronze horse figurines have been accounted Argive imports - iv(b)1.A.9-12 - but see discussion below and n.374.

373. In this connection the discrepancy between the continuous Dark Age grave-series from Argos town and the almost entirely post-750 material from the Argive Heraion is disturbing.

374. It is even possible that a number of Lakonian artists learned their craft in the Argolid. As W.-D. Heilmeyer, JdI lxxxiv (1929) 21 has recently warned, the regionally determinable element in the style of a particular artefact need tell us no more about its maker than where he was trained. But there are of course important differences between the crafts of the potter/painter and the bronzeworker, which will be considered further below.

375. Courbin, CGA i.549 and n.5, 550; on 566 he reckons the quantity of exports sufficient to justify the assertion that archaeology supports the literary evidence for Tegea being within the Argive sphere of influence down to the end of the Geometric period. I do not believe the meagre evidence will stand political interpretations of this kind - for the case of Kynouria, the Malea peninsula and Kythera, see rather Kelly, op.cit. (I.n.12) - but there is, I think, enough Argive pottery in Tegea for it to have influenced Lakonian craftsmen. Besides, Tegean LG was itself apparently even more "Argivising" as a whole than Lakonian, so we should perhaps allow for the possibility of influence at second hand.

376. Courbin, CGA i.504-5.

377. CGA i.503; cf. nn.173, 211, 297.

378. Coldstream, GGP 217 (massed wavy lines from Argive Subgeometric: see n.267); pl.46p (Argive-type dancers with the incipient rays and opaque circles).

379. See n.339.

380. "Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte der geometrischen Stile in Griechenland. II", AM xliii (1918) 1-152, at 116ff.

381. See n.284.

382. Lekythos: see n.202; aryballos: see n.203. For pyxides and skyphoi (or rather kotylai?), see Boardman, AOC 3. "PC" was found in 14 of the trays containing "Geometric" pottery in the Sparta Museum (Appendix VI); but note the qualifications in n.92.

383. GGP 215. In a personal communication Coldstream has elucidated this expression as follows: "the decoration is thin and closely-spaced, without strong tonal contrast", as in GGP pl.21a-c, e-j.

384. The quotation is from J. D. Beazley-B. Ashmole, Greek Sculpture and Painting (1932, 1966) 4.

385. Courbin, CGA i, Part I, with a summary on pp.171-7; cf. the important comments in the review by Coldstream, JHS lxxxviii (1968) 235-6.

386. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.10, who adds to the criterion of shape those of fabric and paint.

387. The literary dates are of course themselves in need of elucidation and justification; no amount of mathematical juggling with putative systems of generational reckoning seems to have produced a tidy explanation of the number of years separating the foundations in a single source, let alone of the discrepancies between different sources in their absolute dates. (I have more to say in Appendix IX about generational reckoning in connection with the Spartan king-lists and their possibly pivotal role in ancient chronography). For the Sicilian foundation-dates in Thucydides, see succinctly K. J. Dover in Gomme, HCT iv.198-210; Dover also discusses discrepant literary sources and the archaeological evidence.

388. Cook, "A Note on the Absolute Chronology of the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C., "BSA lxiv (1969) 13-15. For the dubious chronological value of the scarab of Pharaoh Bocchoris found in Pithekoussai Grave 102, see Coldstream, JHS lxxxviii (1968) 236; GGP 316-7; Snodgrass, DAG 117. The dating of Attic MG II from its association in an absolutely datable oriental context (Samaria) is more secure: GGP 304-10; but note the disagreement among the Levantine archaeologists!

389. Coldstream, GGP 322-7 lowers the beginning of EPC very slightly to c.720. For another recent survey of the archaeological evidence for the dates of the western colonies, see Fittschen, UBSG 202-9. The latest study known to me is A. Griffin, The Chronology of Corinthian

Pottery (T. W. Greene Prize Essay, 1971; typescript in Ashmolean Museum): after a clear and careful examination of the evidence and modern interpretations of it, she concludes by supporting Payne's system.

390. Coldstream, GGP 223 (deposit), 327 (date of Corinthian LG).

391. F. G. Lo Porto, Annuario n.s. xxi-xxii (1959-60) 8-9, fig.1a: not earlier than c.690-80. The further assumption has to be made that the earliest imported pottery from an extensively explored colonial site belongs to the generation of the first settlers or not much earlier: on this Taras grave, cf. K. Kübler, Kerameikos vi.1 (1970) 112.

392. The foundation of Taras is discussed in greater detail in III.viii (b).

393. For the scarabs confidently dated to the XXVI Dynasty (c.663-525) and found with "Geometric" pottery, see vii(c).

394. There is one reference to "Early Geometric" (JHS 1 (1930) 332), but this is probably meant to be synonymous with "Amyklaion ware" (i.e. PG).

395. BSA xiii.126-7, fig.6; AO 66-9, figs.40-3 (Orthia, Heroon); BSA xxviii.55-7, figs.3-4 (Akropolis); BSA xv.150, fig.15 (Menelaion) (but note that fig.15a,c,d,e, are no longer "Sub-Geometric" but "Laconian II" in AO fig.58).

396. BSA xiii.130-6 ("Orientalising Style B"); xiv.30-2; AO 70-2 (Orthia); BSA xxviii.57-61 (Akropolis); BSA xv.150 (Menelaion).

397. AO 17 n.27, 18.

398. BSA xxviii.55 (the fullest definition).

399. Originally described as "Intermediate": see n.91; cf. n.56.

400. LVP 107-15, figs.5,6,7a, 8,9. This naturally included some of Droop's "Sub-Geometric".

401. Boardman, AOC 2-4. As he pointed out, the lower chronology better suited the fact that only 8% of the PC was found with "Laconian I" alone (AO 17).

402. GPP^2 93.

403. Gnomon ix (1933) 4-5.

404. AOC 3.

405. See text and n.380.

406. Unlike those of his LG, "Transitional" and Lakonian II, the shapes of Lane's "Lakonian I" were so uncertain that he saw no profit in presenting them graphically in a text-figure; nor could he detect much development in the handling of decorative motifs, even though the style on his chronology lasted about seventy years. My own researches have led me to similar views on the shapes. Of the trays with (my) Transitional in the Sparta Museum (Appendix VI) the most rewarding are Akropolis 2952, 2954, 2956; Orthia 2366, 2402, 2409, 2411.

407. Another possible name would have been "Prearchaic", used by H. Walter, Samos v (1968) 47ff.; cf. Coldstream, JHS xci (1971) 204. But this would have done more than justice to (my) Subgeometric.

408. For remarks on technique, see iii(b).

409. Orthia 2350.

410. Lane, LVP 107-8.

411. ILL.III.7t; other examples are cited in n.286.

412. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.12-13, no.10 collects examples of both true and conventional dotted serpents; for true serpents, see e.g. ibid. no.165; Johansen, VS pl.8.5. For the possible cultic significance of the serpent, see text and n.453.

413. The fragments all come from Orthia 2402 and are illustrated in Lane, LVP pl.22a. The other shape with this decoration is the lakaina (pl.22a, last two sherds in the second row), but these were slipped.

414. Lane, LVP fig.2S ("tall bowl"), which Lane conceded "might continue into the Transitional stage"; cf. Coldstream, GGP 215 n.6. There are examples in Akropolis 2453, 2946, 2951. Other possible krater-fragments in (a) Amyklai 798; (b) Akropolis 2949; (c) Orthia 2402. ILL.III.10o,p,q,s,t, whose slipped interiors are painted with broad stripes, are either kraters or deep bowls; ILL.III.10n is probably a krateriskos.

415. Lane 110, pl.22b (Tray 2465, perhpas from the Heroon). AO fig.40k is from a krater with inturned rim; for the decoration, see Johansen, VS 8, fig.2.

416. Probably a forerunner of the pattern of FIG.47.

417. Precisely paralleled on the oinochoe (FIG.38) and coarse amphora (Lane fig.8b).

418. B. Shefton in Dunbabin, Perachora ii.384 n.3 and Addenda on p.540; add now e.g. NSc[8] xxv (1971) 557 (Catania).

419. See I.n.402. I was permitted to look at some of this rich material through the generosity of the excavator, Prof. Chr. Christou.

420. Lane, LVP 108 implausibly regarded it as a relation of the lakaina; an unpublished example perhaps in Orthia 2356.

421. Lane 103. For the development of the lakaina, see Waldhauer, op.cit. (n.174).

422. Chequers are the commonest Transitional motif - not surprisingly, because it is the perfect solution to the problem of balancing equal areas of light and dark tones (dotted chequers, perhaps borrowed from Argive (n.275), are appreciably rarer than the unadulterated form). For the "hurdle" decoration on the lakaina, see n.413.

423. Lane pl.24j, whence ILL.III.10f.

424. The idea may have been transferred from the upper surface of plates, as ILL.III.11a,c.

425. Crosses are also found as filling ornament in the field (FIG.44) and between triangles.

426. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.103. For an import from Orthia, found with "Geometric, Sub-Geometric and Laconian I", see AO 114, fig.85a = Johansen, VS 93, pl.24.3; cf. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.66, no.479; Boardman, AOC 3. On the Payne chronology MPC runs from c.690-75.

427. Corinthian chequers, however, differ from the Lakonian in that the black "squares" are often smaller than the white; there are imitations of the Corinthian type in Orthia 2355.

428. I am not convinced that Lane fig.5C,D are pyxides, but G probably is.

429. As a rule of thumb I consider the use of purple paint to be a Lakonian I innovation.

430. Published are AO figs.33,34 (FIG.32), 38h,s,w; Cambridge pl.3.4, 10; Lane, LVP pl.22c (Orthia 2351). Unpublished fragments in (a) Akropolis: 2458 (FIG.40b) 2949, 2951, 2956; (b) Orthia: 2348, 2349, 2353, 2356, 2358 (whence ILL.III.11a), 2360, 2409, 3037. The joining fragments in Akropolis 2949 have two suspension-holes. I am also inclined to think that a fragment from Samos is Lakonian: see n.123. For the diagnostic close-set diagonal scribbles around the edge (Corinthian in origin), see Johansen, VS 48; Kübler, Kerameikos vi.2 (1970) 104 n.4. See also n.191.

431. There is one doubtful example of the hook-spiral (Orthia 2358), borrowed from Corinth or Attika: see e.g. Kübler, Altattische Malerei (1950) 38, pl.9; Payne, PV pl.10.5-6.

432. Exceptionally, ILL.III.11b, in other respects also closest to LG, carries a band of "running-dog" interrupted by verticals drawn with a five-armed brush.

433. For reflex handles, see text and n.190.

434. Orthia 2351.

435. For the interior decoration of Lane pl.20d, see ff; for comments on the stylistic attribution, see n.183. The decoration was executed throughout with an eight-armed brush.

436. Another example cited by Lane, LVP 104 (I did not find this piece) was decorated with chequers and, more interestingly, hook-spirals: cf. n.431.

437. Lane pl.24p, decorated with complex meanders formed of thin wavy lines. Lane, LVP 110 thought his pl.24l,o (with white-dotted, "concentric" (n.245) meanders) might be from the same shape.

438. Lane 113, fig.7B (Lakonian I); 123, fig.11K (Lakonian II). Note the contemporary type with low, splayed-out bowl.

439. Chios: E. R. Price, JHS xliv (1924) 180-222, at 206ff.; R. M. Cook, BSA xliv (1949) 154-61; Boardman, Greek Emporio (BSA Supp. vi, 1967) 102-3, fig.60; 119-20 (evolution). Aiolis or North Ionia: E. Walter-Karydi, Studien zur griechischen Malerei (AK Beiheft vii, 1970) 7 and n.22, fig.3.

440. For bibliography, see L. Pandolfi in S. Stucchi, L'Agorà di Cirene i (1965) 39-40; analysis and classification, Coldstream, GGP 298-301. Also helpful are Boardman, JHS lxxxv (1965) 5-15, at 5-7; Greek Emporio 132-4.

441. AO fig.85c; Lane, LVP 115, fig.9A (perhaps without birds). R. M. Cook, JHS lxvi (1946) 95 n.224 thinks there may be sherds from about a dozen bowls.

442. Droop, AO 115, fig.401 = fig.85b (found with "Laconian I and Sub-Geometric"); but see Lane, LVP 115, fig.9B-C. The nicked rim would place it early in the series, according to Cook, GPP^2 117; the style of the bird and nature of the filling ornament are compatible with an attribution to Coldstream's Class I (c.690-75).

443. See n.123. Diehl accepted Lane's view that "Transitional" shapes and decoration overlapped with those of his "Late Geometric" and dated the fragment to the end of the eighth century. It is certainly Transitional, as her comparisons indicate, and I would date the vase somewhere in the first quarter of the seventh century.

444. Cf. somewhat I. Strøm, Acta Archaeologica xxxiii (1962) pl.IIb.33 (Naxian "Heraldic" Group).

445. Lane LVP 114, fig.8a,b (on display in the Sparta Museum: a is Inv. 1013; b has three handles). The other two resemble a in shape (not b, pace Lane 114 n.1): one is known to me only from a photograph in the British School at Athens; the other (smaller) fragment is in the British Museum.

446. Orthia 2350.

447. Lane pl.24a: again, the floating wavy lines look LG. The shape seems to have been surprisingly rare in the seventh century.

448. Droop, AO 77 refers to "Sub-Geometric" handles imitating metalwork like those found on Lakonian III oinochoai (fig.65); cf. perhaps the "Daedalic" head at the base of an oinochoe-handle mentioned by Lane 118. This probably postates 650.

449. The fragment of the main handle, missing from my FIG., is drawn in BSA xiii.125, fig.4 = AO fig.36. The vase is now kept in a separate box together with other "choice" pieces of all periods from LG to Lakonian III. Kunze, Gnomon ix.4 may have seen more fragments, for he refers to the "lowermost zone" as showing in its entirety an ornament signifying the loosening of the Geometric technique.

450. Cf. Lane, LVP 108-9.

451. For other arrows, differently managed, see FIG.29d (inverted?). Courbin, CGA i.503 tentatively suggested that Argive LG arrows might have been borrowed from Lakonia, but they appear to have been no less frequent in the Argolid: see e.g. Müller, Tiryns pl.17.79; N. Verdhelis, AM lxxviii (1963) Beil.23.4-5.

452. For the shape, cf. somewhat the "Prearchaic" globular oinochoai discussed by H. Walter, Samos v (1968) 47-52.

453. The basic bibliography is collected in J. Wiesner, Lexikon zur alten Welt (1965) s.v. "Schlange". For the possible connection with Orthia, see Marangou, LEB nn.124, 136.

454. (a) Akropolis 2956 (lekythos-handle, LG?); (b) Orthia: Oxford 1923. 200; (c) Theatre 3066 (snake inside the handle). For Protoattic parallels, see e.g. Kübler, Altattische Malerei (1950) 38, pl.8; E. T. H. Brann, Agora viii (1962) pl.22.384.

455. In Chios too this system long outlasted LG: Boardman, Greek Emporio 103, fig.61c.

456. Cf. Coldstream, GGP 215 n.6.

457. Lane, LVP 112 n.3.

458. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.12-13, no.10 offers a good illustration.

459. See the references in n.205.

460. AO 114, fig.70f (found with "Geometric, Sub-Geometric and Laconian I"); cf. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.18, no.38; Boardman, AOC 3.

461. Lane, LVP 105 n.5.

462. Lane 147, pl.38c; 156, pl.33g (= AO fig.70g, found with "Sub-Geometric and Laconian I": perhaps Corinthian, but Lakonian according to Kunze, Gnomon ix.6).

463. The best documented deposits are: (a) Amyklai: VA 58ff., pl.15; (b) the Megalopolis Road sanctuary: BSA xiii.172-3, fig.2 (whence the phrase in inverted commas); cf. BSA xlv (1950) 273 n.29; (c) Orthia: AO 106ff., fig.82; Lane 154, fig.20.

464. AO 68, fig.83.18: see text and n.212.

465. The deep cup or tankard is not attested either, but its occurrence in both LG and Lakonian I suggests that its absence is due to the hazards of discovery and survival.

466. There is one example of the outline step-meander associated with a chequer pattern, inappropriately used on a small skyphos or lakaina: Akropolis 2951 (FIG.16d).

467. British Museum 1923.2-12.393 (Orthia); Orthia 2402 (krater?): for the type, cf. AO fig.50b (Lakonian II from the Menelaion). Droop, BSA xxviii.56, fig.3o, p are closer to those illustrated by W. Schiering, Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik auf Rhodos (1957) Beil.1. Pace Droop, BSA xxviii.51, his fig.1h can hardly be described as a "swastika" and there are no other possible examples in LG pottery, although the motif is found under the base of a bronze horse figurine from Orthia: iv(b) 1.A.9.

468. Lane pl.24d,e; another example in Orthia 2402 with circles reserved against a dark ground. Cf. the remarkable examples with impressed spirals (FIG.37d,e,f), which were slipped and painted black. The technique in both cases may have resulted from the desire to imitate chased metalwork. For a riot of circles (drawn freehand!), see FIG.39a.

469. BSA xxviii.56, fig.3m = Lane pl.25c (with gear-pattern). See text and n.315.

470. Lane pl.25b; BSA xxviii.56, fig.3j (Akropolis 2954).

471. Lane pl.24k, perhaps the base of an oinochoe; cf. the added white dots on Lane pl.24o (chalice?), which retains the LG system of banding (cf. n.455).

472. Droop, BSA xxviii.56, fig.3b; as Lane, LVP 121 remarks, "the (lost) head would have been in outline". I consider AO fig.40m (now in Oxford), showing horses and birds, to be LG; B. M. 1923.2-12.457 (bowl with file of warriors carrying shield and spear) is unclassifiable.

473. Boardman, Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (1968) 13 considers Chian and Melian examples to be at least as early; cf. Lane 119 n.3. For the LG pomegranate shape, see (c) 18.

474. AO fig.42e (inverted, foot-fragment: now in the B.M. 1923.2-12. 487); another on BSA xxviii.56, fig.3a.

475. Associated with chequers on an unpublished sherd from the "Agora" (2575); also BSA xxviii.56, fig.3c. The earliest form may be AO fig.42d, also found on a hydria; cf. FIG.28a,b. Terracotta pomegranates as AO pl.42.7 were found with "Geometric": AO 159.

476. Lane LVP 196, Index s.v.; Stibbe, LVSJ Index s.v. "Granatepfel, Granatapfelnetz". Jacobsthal, GP 196ff. gives a comprehensive account of its use as ornament or in cult in various regions and epochs.

477. See briefly J. Wiesner, Lexikon zur alten Welt (1965) s.v. "Granatapfelbaum".

478. Coldstream, GGP 244 and n.6.

479. Kunze, KB 111-2.

480. Payne, NC 210ff., esp. 210 n.3, illustrates the predilection among metalworkers for the tongue-pattern. For its use on seventh-century Lakonian bronze pins, see BSA xiii.110, fig.1g (= Jacobsthal, GP fig.78: after 650); 115, fig.5b. The inspiring Kunstkreis for seventh-century Greece may have been Assyria, as Kunze, KB 114-5 argues in a discussion of the motif (111-5) that takes it back to second-millennium Egypt.

481. Lane pl.23a.

482. Lane pl.25a (FIG.47). A "curious pale orange colour" occurs once in Lakonian III: Lane 145-6.

483. See generally Kunze, KB 117. The LG example is an unpublished slipped sherd from Amyklai (FIG.42b); for the dot rosettes elsewhere, see Coldstream, GGP pls.8c,e (Attic), 35 (Naxian). Early Orientalising: BSA xxviii.56, fig.3n (filling ornament behind hindquarters of horse(?)).

484. Lane pl.25g (under base of oinochoe, whose figured decoration is discussed below); cf. perhaps ILL.III.11e.

485. AO fig.42f; Lane pl.24n.

486. AO fig.42b, combined with the motif of outlined dotted squares that at first alternated with and then replaced the chequer pattern; cf. FIGS.45-6. Also Cambridge pl.3.19 (Orthia). BSA xxviii.56, fig.3h,l are related.

487. AO fig.42g, also with the dotted square motif.

488. AO figs.40g,i; 42a (with "running-dog" and cable), h (= Lane pl.25d: Menelaion 2432, from shoulder of a jug).

489. See e.g. AO fig.65; Lane, LVP figs.24-5.

490. AO fig.42c = Lane pl.23e (Orthia 2356, open shape): cf. D. Papastamos, Melische Amphoren (1970) esp. 95, no.354 (c.615), but also pl.15 (c.660: p.135).

491. Lane fig.10b (Akropolis 2455). Marangou, LEB 18-9 omits it from her discussion of "sacred trees", as she has omitted the "flamingo" from her list (n.52) of long-necked birds. On oriental "trees of life" and their connection with fertility-rites, see Kunze, KB 147-8 and the works cited in Marangou, LEB nn.84-5; add Boardman, JdI lxxxi (1966) 55.

492. As late as Lakonian II the patterns are still of an "aggressively Geometric character": Lane, LVP 126, with fig.12.

493. See n.484.

494. On early Greek wings, see E. Spartz, Das Wappenschild des Herrn und der Herrin der Tiere in der minoisch-mykenischen und frühgriechischen Kunst (Diss. München, 1962) 97ff.

495. The earliest winged horses are perhaps Cycladic: Ch. Dugas, BCH xxxv (1911) 383, fig.47. The problem of dating such pieces when they cannot be closely compared to the Corinthian or Attic series is neatly exemplified by the well-known Polyphemos fragment from Argos: P. Courbin, BCH lxxix (1955) 1-49, esp. 32-5.

496. Payne, NC 91 n.10; Dunbabin, Perachora ii.54, no.390. For the oriental forerunners, see L. Malten, "Bellerophontes", JdI xl (1925) 121-60, at 143ff.

497. Marangou, LEB 176 and nn. gives the references in her discussion of AO pl.116.3 (her no.120). The fragmentary terracotta plaque showing the legs of a pair of horses (AO pl.39.1) was found with "Geometric" alone: AO 154. For representations in other local styles, see Marangou n.975.

498. See most recently Fittschen, UBSG 145ff.

499. BSA xxviii, pl.6 (H.c.10). This is the vase about whose place and date of manufacture Droop and Hartley had the sharp public debate discussed earlier in connection with the Orthia stratigraphy (text and n.65). Lane, LVP 119 defended Droop's attribution to the "early seventh-century Lakonian fabric" and I have followed Lane here. But a more recent find of an orientalising pyxis from Gouvalari in Messenia (now in the Pylos Museum) should be noted: Praktika for 1960, pl.153β; it may, as Coldstream has suggested to me, be Cretan.

500. E.g. Lane fig.7C (plate).

501. Similar nose and beard to the warrior's head to be discussed below, but the face is less squashed out. The manes resemble Cycladic work, as Papastamos, op.cit. (n.490) pl.19.911B.

502. For bibliography, see K. Davaras, Die Statue aus Astritsi (AK Beiheft viii, 1972) 55, no.24. The restoration of the temple is problematic: L. Pernier, AJA xxxviii (1934) 175-7, pl.19B; W. B. Dinsmoor, The Architecture of Ancient Greece^{3} (1950) 47 n.1.

503. Matz, GGK i.177-8; cf. Boardman, CCO 147 for the suggestion that the style is archaising. Davaras puts it in his "Ripe Dedalic II" not long after the "Auxerre goddess".

504. Chr. Karousos, JdI lii (1937) 166-97, fig.12 (comparisons cited on 187ff.); Papastamos, op.cit. 35-43, pls.4-5; 43-7, pls.6-7. For the lower chronology, see Cook, GPP^{2} 105-13.

505. For Cretan representations of the horse, see Marangou, LEB n.487.

506. But see n.347 (3).

507. Marangou, LEB 81-3, no.37.

508. BSA xxviii.56, fig.3q; there is no purple on the shoulder: Lane, LVP 120 n.2.

509. AO fig.40a. Stippling recalls the Early Protoattic Analatos Painter: see n.524. AO fig.41C,D may belong to contemporary animals (lion?, bull?).

510. Kunze, Gnomon ix.5.

511. Lane, LVP 120 and n.2.

512. Payne, JHS xlvi (1926) 207, fig.1 (he compares Cycladic work); the resemblance would be too close to be fortuitous if the lion's foot were indeed raised.

513. J. M. Cook, BSA xxxv (1934-5) 165-219, at 193-4; Cook, GPP^{2} 69-71.

514. Cf. n.509.

515. Cook, GPP^{2} 65.

516. Droop, BSA xxviii.57, fig.4 (inaccurate drawing); Lane pl.23j: from Akropolis 2954, along with BSA xxviii.56, fig.3j,m,n,q.

517. A neater version of the same motif on FIG.29c.

518. Lane, LVP 121 compares the heads on dwarfish bodies found on "Phaleron style" vases like J. Böhlau, JdI ii (1887) 46, figs.6-7 (the head of the central figure of fig.7 is not unlike our warrior). Human protomes in the Cyclades (as Délos xvii, pl.14. Bc 20) begin c.650: Coldstream, BICS xii (1965) 36 n.21.

519. Droop, BSA xxviii.57 made the unhappy suggestion that this might be the earliest Lakonian vasepainting of a sphinx: see rather Lane pl.28d. On the earliest Lakonian sphinxes in other materials, see n.769.

520. Kunze, KB 180 n.11; for the shape, see Kunze, Ol. Ber. viii (1967) 225 and n.29.

521. The earliest Lakonian helmeted figure - the well-known terracotta from Amyklai - may be intended to represent a god (Apollo): vi (b) and n.879. See also n.347 (5).

522. Marangou, LEB nos.1-4; cf. no.6, which she dates in the 660's. Further discussion in III.v(a)1.

523. Matz, GGK i.485.

524. Matz, GGK i.289-94; E. T. H. Brann, Agora viii (1962) 4-5, 18-21; Cook, GPP^2 67. For another parallel between Lakonian (ivory) and Protoattic, see n.885.

525. BSA xiii.126, fig.6A = AO fig.41A: not in Tray 2577. Perhaps from a standed bowl: see n.166.

526. Cf. Lane, LVP 121.

527. Drerup, GBGZ, Cover and 70, fig.55.

528. Cf. the remarks of Kunze, Gnomon ix.5 on AO fig.41C (for this, see vi(b) and n.932).

529. Boardman, AOC 4; Marangou, LEB 230 n.214 rather unkindly remarks "wohl, weil beide Köpfe bärtig sind"!

530. Marangou, LEB no.18.

531. J. Fink, Beiträge zur Trachtgeschichte Griechenlands (1938) 82ff.

532. BSA xiii.126, fig.6E = AO fig.41E (Droop at first thought it was imported) = Lane pl.25a (with more fragments): Orthia 2377.

533. The head on the right may have a hairband in purple.

534. For bibliography of "Melian" vases, see I. Strøm, Acta Archaeologica xxxiii (1962) 274 n.223; Cook, GPP^2 342-3 (add Papastamos, op.cit. in n.490). Especially close to our heads are JHS xxii (1902) 49, fig.1; Ch. Dugas, Délos x (1928) pls.1a; 7, no.15b.

535. Droop, BSA xiii.109,117; AO 196; cf. Wace, BSA xv.144 (Menelaion much drier).

536. Kunze, Gnomon ix.8-9 said what was necessary about Droop's publication of bronzes (AO ch.7).

537. W. Lamb, BSA xxviii (1926-7) 82-95 (Akropolis), 96-106 (Orthia).

538. For sources of copper and tin, see the works cited in II.n.205. See also n.550 below (chemical analysis).

539. Throughout this section (and some of the subsequent ones) I have employed the following abbreviations:

Furtwängler	=	A. Furtwängler, Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen iv (1890)
Gehrig	=	U. Gehrig, Die geometrische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos (Diss. Hamburg, 1964)
Gervy	=	A.-F. Gervy, "Les petits chevaux grecs en bronze de style géométrique. Signification, style et technique", Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain iv (1971) 49-72.
Heilmeyer	=	W.-D. Heilmeyer, "Giessereibetriebe in Olympia", JdI lxxxiv (1969) 1-28
Herrmann	=	H.-V. Herrmann, "Werkstätten Geometrischer Bronzeplastik", JdI lxxix (1964) 17-71.
Markman	=	S. D. Markman, The Horse in Greek Art (1943)
Marwitz	=	H. Marwitz, Pantheon xxiii (1965) 359ff.
Mitten-Doeringer	=	D. G. Mitten-S. Doeringer, Master Bronzes of the Classical World (1967)
Neugebauer	=	K. A. Neugebauer, Katalog der antiken Broncestatuetten im Antiquarium Berlin i (1931)
Rolley	=	C. Rolley, FD v^2 (1969)
von Bothmer	=	D. von Bothmer, Ancient Art in New York Private Collections (1961)
Weber	=	M. Weber, "Zwei geometrische Bronzepferde in Istanbul", Ist. Mitt. xvi (1966) 89-94

540. For this breakdown of the components of "style" (perhaps more applicable here than to the pottery), see n.28.

541. Cited by D. E. L. Haynes, "Ancient Bronze-Casting Methods", AA 1970, 450.

542. Gervy describes and illustrates the processes involved in reproducing B.15 (happily, a Lakonian example). R. Raven-Hart, JHS lxxviii (1958) 90-1 lists the most important studies of technique to that date; add now esp. S. Doeringer-D. G. Mitten-A. Steinberg, edd., Art and Technology: a Symposium on Classical Bronzes (1970). D. Kent Hill, "Bronze Working: Sculpture and other Objects" in C. Roebuck, ed., The Muses at Work (1969) 60-95 is informed and lively.

543. Raven-Hart (n.542) 87ff., 89 n.23; cf. in general E. J. Pyke, A Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers (1973) esp. xxxvii-xl (wax-analysis); 27, s.v. "Cellini" (C. on cire perdue).

544. Raven-Hart's view that by far the greater amount of work was done in the wax is strikingly supported by the experience of a sophisticated contemporary sculptor: P. James, ed., Henry Moore on Sculpture (1966) 137, 139.

545. Steinberg in op.cit. (n.542) viii-ix (cf. 32-3) lists this as one of the (insoluble) problems.

546. Steinberg 107; cf. 53-4.

547. Gervy fig.13 is a graphic illustration.

548. There is dispute over the nature and extent of the coldworking. Clearly circular decoration as on B.33 was effected after casting (by a burin), but it is my firm belief that, apart from necessary "finishing-off", chiselling and hammering were kept to a minimum. This appears to be the view of Heilmeyer reported ap. Rolley, Etudes Déliennes (BCH Supp.i, 1973) 518 n.76; and see n.544.

549. R. J. Gettens, "Patina: noble and vile" in Doeringer-Mitten-Steinberg (n.542) 57-72.

550. Paul Craddock of the Research Laboratory of the British Museum was kind enough to discuss technical matters with me and pass on the results of his unpublished research so far (see here his analysis of the chemical composition of horses B.32, D.19). See also S. R. B. Croke-E. Henrickson-G. R. Rapp, Jr. in McDonald-Rapp, MME ch.14.

551. H. Lechtman-A. Steinberg in op.cit.5-35.

552. Ibidd. 15-22, figs.16-26.

553. My definition of Lakonia embraces part of S.E. Messenia: see I.n. 2; hence the inclusion of A.13. On the distribution of finds in Lakonia, see n.581.

554. Dimensions (centimetres), where I have been able to check them, indicate the distance from the top of the ear (or highest preserved point) to the underside of the stand (H.), the length of the stand including the projection (L.) and the width of the stand (W.).

555. Cf. Gervy 72; and C.3. Casting defect?

556. * = full description, including dimensions and sometimes bibliography.

557. In general terms I trust the stylistic judgement of Herrmann and Rolley far more than that of Weber or Gervy. I am unconvinced by Marwitz's art-historical pronouncements, but he deserves credit for identifying the Lakonian type independently of Herrmann.

558. Most are "unterhölt" at the junction of body and legs, a feature which Rolley would ascribe to the use of tiny anvils for hammering the cast product, I to the undercutting of the wax model: cf. n. 548.

559. I owe this expression to D. A. Amyx, AJA liii (1949) 147-8.

560. A few writers, esp. Marwitz, have argued that for purposes of interpretation (stylistic or otherwise) the stand should be given equal weight with the horse it supports. This seems to me to be an overstatement of the reasonable view that the stand can be a feature of more than (narrowly) functional significance; cf. n.592. Certainly the neglect of the stand in publications hitherto is regrettable.

561. See n.548.

562. For this treatment of the stand, Herrmann 28; on the importance of the stand, n.560.

563. Unsafe for two reasons: (1) it may be that there was no Argive regional style or, if there was, that it was an eclectic amalgam of elements drawn from the leading Peloponnesian schools (Corinth and Sparta): see B.7; (2) A. 9-12 may be local Lakonian products influenced by external sources; at any rate, they do not differ in technique and one-third is perhaps a high proportion for imports, even if we allow that the finest of the locally made examples found their way for various reasons outside Lakonia (cf. sixth-century kylikes and probably warrior-bronzes). For a different view of Argive, see n.591.

563a. Coldstream (personal communication) sees this as "a hybrid: Laconian short body and raised croup, Corinthian hammered mane and sharply protruding hock".

564. For the pottery, see n.121; foundation of Taras, viii (b).

565. If the provenience is felt to make the attribution implausible, cf. C.4 . See also n.567.

566. Correct inventory number and height were first given by Weber.

567. Weber's attempt to collect an "Arkadian" group has prima facie plausibility, but collapses on inspection of the particular examples. The same is probably true of her more recent attempt to distinguish an "Attic" group (of horses on tripod-handles): AM lxxxvi (1971) 13-30; cf. n.639.

568. Information from Michael Vickers, who generously showed me a photograph; cf. B.17 and 32.

569. See n.542.

570. H. given according to Marwitz's mean figure: Willemsen says 9, Weber 8!

571. Rolley, Atti del 10° Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (1970, published 1971) 397-9. He further argued that this head was "preuve d'une organisation évoluée de l'artisanat et du commerce", a point to which I return at the end of this segment.

572. The attribution is presumably due to either Herrmann or Heilmeyer. The latter's study of the early bronzes from Olympia is eagerly awaited.

573. This is the only "Lakonian" figurine apart from C.10 for which there is a chemical analysis available (courtesy of P. Craddock: see n.550): Cu.88 Pb. 0.25 Sn.10.4 Ag.0.88 Fe.0.005 Sb.0.45 - i.e. an unremarkable tin-bronze.

574. On amber generally, vii (d). For the engraved circles (Corinthian influence?), cf. F. Johansen, Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek xviii (1961) 10,fig.9 (from Leukas); Herrmann 30, fig.13; N. Yialouris, AK xvii (1974) 21 and n.4, pl.3.1.

575. This has sometimes been confused with B.34: Gehrig 42 n.1.

576. This feature links it to Athens N.M. 14827 (unpublished, from Lepreon), which has certain Lakonian affinities.

577. I list together examples both attributed to "Lakonia" and closely compared to examples so attributed. Unless I specifically say otherwise, I accept the attributions.

578. This is the only "Geometric-style" animal found under the Heraion (Furtwängler).

579. I have no further information on Olympia 871 cited by Weber 93 and n.19.

580. Those eliminated from A and B are cited in the text at the end of the catalogues. From C all must be eliminated except C.1,3 and probably 10,11: C.2 because of the uncertainty of the attribution, the rest because I have not seen even illustrations of them. As for D, I accept, with some hesitation, that there is a Lakonian type of freestanding horse, although this may only have been produced in Olympia for on-the-spot dedication. The total corpus at our disposal numbers 53 max. (8 from A, 27 from B, 4 from C, 14 from D).

581. The only example from the Akropolis, attached to a tripod-handle, is probably not Lakonian (6.A.4). I have not seen the "Geometric-style" horses (and bulls) from Amyklai reported by Tsountas, AE 1892, 12. The absence of finds from the Menelaion is noteworthy.

582. I am able to list only 32.

583. Cf. Payne, Perachora i.125.

584. Himmelmann, op.cit. (n.363) 36 and n.2; cf. nn.351-2. Himmelmann thinks that the generally much inferior quality of the Geometric bronze bulls (our 3.A.2-3 from Olympia are exceptions) is a sign of the inferior status of their dedicators.

585. Hönle, OPGS 19-24 argues for a special relationship between the Spartan state and the oracle of Zeus at Olympia before the Delphic oracle established its pre-eminence for the Peloponnese. But the fact that the first recorded Spartan victory in the Games is in 720 does not (pace Hönle 23-4) entail that Spartan interest had previously been confined to the sanctuary and the oracle. See further viii(b).

586. See II.nn.207-8; cf. Heilmeyer, FOT 89 n.232.

587. B. 17 and 32 are presumably by the same hand; B.20 is perhaps by the same hand as the stag B.5.

588. Herrmann was reacting strongly against the prevailing tendency to consider the Orthia figurines from a purely chronological point of view (see studies cited in Herrmann 21 n.16). To this extent Weber marked a great advance by taking account of a regional style and its component groups, however questionable her particular judgements may be.

589. Herrmann 19 n.7; Rolley 7ff. Kunze is the doyen in this field, though even he nods.

590. The "angular" and "slackening" stages account for all but A.3 from Orthia and the great majority of those found elsewhere. The peak of production should, therefore, coincide with the decades around 700, a conclusion that is consonant with the stratigraphical evidence (such as it is).

591. Coldstream (personal communication) is far happier with Herrmann's "Argive" group (at least the horses) than I. Indeed, he believes that the series of Lakonian horses begins c.750 as a stylised type derived from Argive in much the same way that Lakonian LG pottery takes its rise about this time under influence from that quarter. He extends the parallel to include Corinth: for him influence and imports reach Lakonia from about the 720's in both pottery and bronzeworking.

592. Almost all Geometric bronze horse figurines (of all regional styles) have been found in sanctuaries; A.13 and 14 belong to the tiny handful that served as grave-goods. I am certain that (pace e.g. D. Kent Hill) they were never used as stamp-seals, but, as Furtwängler et al. have suggested, they may well have been suspended from trees, a circumstance which explains as well as any other the care lavished on the underside of the stand (irrespective of the "chthonic" significance of the "snake"-like lines).

593. Rolley, op.cit. (n.571).

594. I have not yet to be convinced that Spartans "de plein droit" never practised a techne: I cannot argue the point in detail in this study, but see some preliminary remarks at the end of viii (c). I also doubt whether Himmelmann, op.cit. (n.363) 9 and n.1 is right to

infer from a bronze in New York (Schweitzer, GKG pl.200: crouching helmet-maker; cf. the LG bronze blacksmith in Belgrade) that the crafts were accorded only "banausic" status as early as the LG period: see viii (c) and n.1108.

595. Brein = F. Brein, Der Hirsch in der griechischen Frühzeit (Diss. Wien, 1969): more than one-fifth of the dissertation is given over to the "Geistige Voraussetzungen" and "Ikonographische Grundlagen" of the subject; many of his assumptions about preliterate societies (esp. those borrowed from Lévy-Bruhl) are highly questionable; more narrowly, he deliberately excludes all cervidae without antlers, is not apparently aware of the work of Herrmann etc. and does not consider whether the penetration of the genus into the animal world of early Greek art was due to foreign influences or the survival of a Mycenaean tradition. See further the critical review by Herrmann, BJ clxxiii (1973) 526-30.

596. Compare the relief of a grazing stag on the underside of an ivory couchant lion from Orthia: (Athens N.M. 15621): Marangou, LEB 116-7, no.71, figs.89a,b (second quarter of the seventh century).

596a. On the other hand, I have excluded a stag (at first described as a hare!) found probably in a grave at Thebes and surprisingly attributed to Lakonia by Herrmann, BJ clxxiii. 528: Å. Åkerstrom, Architektonische Terrakottaplatten in Stockholm (1951) 52 and n.80a, fig.27; P. Amandry, Collection H. Stathatos i (1953) 12 and fig.16; Brein 149 and n.5.

597. At least not hunting of deer: cf. n.352. For early Greek hunting in general, H.-G. Buchholz-G. Jöhrens-I. Maull, "Jagd und Fischfang", Archaeologia Homerica i.J (1973) (44ff. on cervidae, with full bibliography in n.170). The scarcity of Geometric representations of the boar (none in Lakonia) is perhaps a matter of artistic convention rather than a reflection of actual conditions.

598. We might then add Neuebauer 57, no.149, pl.17 (Inv. 01. 9678) and 59, no.156, pl.18 (Inv. 01. 10690), both compared to Furtwängler 33, no.174, pl.12. For the high quality of A.2-3, see n.584.

599. See v(c): the bulls represented about one-fifteenth of the total (11 out of 160) and none need be as early as the eighth century.

600. This dating need not be inconsistent with Neugebauer's view that they are "nachgeometrisch".

601. Other representations in (1) bone (Athens N.M. 15473 a b): AO 158, 217, pl.115; Marangou, LEB 177-9, nos.122-3, figs.156-7 (Droop, AO 197 incorrectly refers to ivory tortoises) - the find-contexts given in AO are self-contradictory, but neither explains why Marangou dates her no.122 to the late seventh century! (2) terracotta (3 examples): AO 157-8, pl.41.14 (with "Laconian I"), another with "Laconian III and IV". Marangou nn.978, 980-5, 989, 990 gives references to tortoises in various media and contexts (Greek and Etruscan).

602. Marangou, LEB 179 concludes from the presence in the Orthia deposits of water animals (tortoise, frog) and birds that Artemis - or rather Orthia at this period: see Appendix X - was regarded as mistress of all animal nature; she therefore rules out the view that the tortoise was her sacred animal par excellence.

603. Orthia (Athens N.M. 15474 a b): AO 217, pl.115; Marangou, LEB 177, 179-80, nos.124-5 (found with "Laconian V"). Akropolis: Lamb, BSA xxviii. 90-1, no.19, fig.5 (H.2.5). Menelaion: M.S. Thompson, BSA xv.119, pl.6.16 (with "Laconian II"). Other finds: Marangou nn.994-1006.

604. Bouzek = J. Bouzek, "Die griechisch-geometrischen Bronzevögel", Eirene vi (1967) 115-39; cf. his "Nachtrag", Eirene ix (1971) 89-93.

605. See also 7.C.1 (bird on fibula).

606. For the technical details, H. Lechtman-A. Steinberg in op.cit. (n.542) 15-22, figs.16-26.

607. Picard gives references to their distribution.

608. AD xx.2 (1965) 79, pl.46 ε,ζ.

609. Three birds attached by stumps to a thin rectangular bar: BCH xci (1967) 694, fig.4.

610. The following examples from Olympia might perhaps be added: Neugebauer no.118 (similar body - rest broken - to allegedly "Lakonian" examples); no.117 (similar base to A.2 and B.6-7); Zervos, CH 306, fig.204.

611. I cannot, however, agree with Rolley's attribution to Lakonia of BCH xlv.352, no.42, figs.6 and 11 (best picture: Rolley, Monumenta Graece et Romana no.19). Although it is a bird (not a dolphin, as Dugas thought), the body is managed differently from the rest of the group and the only parallel for a relief under the stand is B.16.

612. Hill also compares the ivory manikin AO 240, pl.169.3 (with "Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I") and an ivory monkey from the Trapeza cave in E. Crete, JHS lvi (1936) 155, fig.14 (EM II!). Coldstream has drawn my attention to the small and cruder figurine from the sanctuary of Artemis Knakeatis at Mavriki, which lay close to the Lakonian border: AE 1952, 26ff., fig.20d.

613. See now J. Bouzek, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974) 76-86, fig.22.

614. This is simply a courtesy title, only slightly less humorous than Benton's "No doubt Lycurgus thinking about his laws"!

615. Rolley, Etudes Déliennes (BCH Supp.i,1973) 517 n.71 gives parallels for the belt.

616. Bibliography on gesture and its significance, Kunze, Ol. Ber. viii (1967) 213 n.1.

617. Heilmeyer, FOT 54 n.117.

618. Olympia Mus.B 1392: Kunze, Ol. Ber. iv.106-7, pl.32.3; Rolley 49, fig.15 right. Herrmann 44 n.121 compared the hands of the dancers on a pot from Amyklai (n.341).

619. Rolley 47-9, no.32, pl.9 (Delphi Mus.1546).

620. Heilmeyer, FOT 113, no.175.

621. See esp. the terracotta heads from Amyklai: vi and n.879; and (if they are Lakonian) the bronzes 5.B.1, 6.B.2.

622. Apart from the examples cited in vii (a) 1, Lakonian stone sculpture in the round is almost non-existent in the seventh century: see only K. Schefold, Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst (1960) 12, 13-14, 136, no.II.89 (upper part of a "goddess" in island marble of c.630, tentatively attributed to Lakonia).

623. Kunze, Ol. Ber. vii (1961) 166-8, fig.98, pl.69 has argued that the draped female Olympia B 3400 is Lakonian of the late seventh century; Mitten-Doeringer 44, no.28 (kouros, c.600) is said to be from Sparta.

623a. See n.1012.

624. But see n.873 for a comparable terracotta head.

625. Terracotta: BSA xv.120, no.34, fig.3. Bronze: Kunze(n.623).

626. See text and n.339.

627. Kunze, Ol. Ber. viii.228. I cannot think what prompted Benton to remark (BSA xxxv.130) that "It looks as if tripod-cauldrons were rather popular in Laconia". The archaeological evidence she cites (terracotta as well as bronze: FIGS.7b, 14e, 22b(?)) is hardly adequate support, although the exploit of the Spartan Oibalos during the"First"Messenian War (Paus.iv.12.9) may be relevant!

628. See esp. Benton, "The Evolution of the Tripod-Lebes", BSA xxxv (1934-5) 74-130; F. W. Willemsen, Dreifusskessel von Olympia (Ol. Forsch. iii,1957): reviewed by P. Amandry, Gnomon xxxii (1960) 459-63. For the chronology, cf.II.n.207.

629. See esp. U. Jantzen, Griechische Greifenkessel (1955): reviewed by G. M. A. Hanfmann, Gnomon xxix (1957) 241-8; Herrmann, Die Kessel der Orientalisierender Zeit (Ol. Forsch. vi, 1966): reviewed by Amandry, Gnomon xli (1969) 796-802; cf. H. Kyrieleis, "Zum orientalischen Kesselschmuck", MarbWPr.1966, 1-25.

630. Essential bibliography: Herrmann, Ol. Forsch. vi.114ff.; Muscarella 9 n.4. See now U. Liepmann, JdI lxxxiii (1968) 39-57; Jantzen, Samos viii (1972) 76-9.

631. Terracotta: BSA xxvi (1923-5) 275, fig.7.3; xxix.79, no.13, fig.2. Ivory: BSA xxvi.275, fig.7.1-2 (now Athens N.M. 15790); cf. Marangou, LEB 212 and n.1277, fig.162. From the Akropolis.

632. There are, however, several griffins on Lakonian ivory seals: A. M. Bisi, Il Grifone (Studi Semitici xiii,1965) 207-12, at 211, with fig.20. 147-50; Marangou, LEB nos. 36,46,76,78,81 (all after 650).

633. Muscarella in Doeringer-Mitten-Steinberg, op.cit. (n.542) 109-10 summarises the controversy.

634. Bisi (n.632) 202ff.

635. Benton, BSA xxxv.74.

636. The museum label describes it as a lion, but the superficial resemblance is due to the state of preservation.

637. Benton, AJA lxiii (1959) 94 rightly objects to this terminology.

638. Ithaka: BSA xxxv.60-1, no.7, figs.11,16b, pl.12a; 61-2, no.9, fig. 17, pl.13b,d. Olympia: Br. 10867 (lost). Delphi 1902: Perdrizet, FD v(1908) no.220, fig.200.

639. Weber, "Die geometrischen Dreifusskessel", AM lxxxvi (1971) 13-30, at 18. Her article is an attempt to answer Benton's call (AJA lxiii.95) for Attika to be considered as a centre of tripod-manufacture. See also 6.B.1.

640. It was almost certainly found with "Geometric" pottery: Benton, BSA xxxv.128 n.1. I agree with those (Amandry, Benton, Snodgrass) who place the beginning of the Olympia series no earlier than 800, but see II.n.207 (Lefkandi moulds).

641. For the "Aschenschicht", II (ii). The examples found by Tsountas and published by A. de Ridder, Catalogue des Bronzes de la société Archéologique d'Athènes (1894) 4, nos.2-3 are not precisely datable.

642. II.iv(c) 1.

643. The clay copies (n.627) do not of course decide the question whether tripods were manufactured in Lakonia. It would be pleasant (though it is highly improbable) if our humble bronze fragment belonged to one of the tripods dedicated, after the "First" Messenian War (Paus. iii.18.7-8, with Frazer iii.350-1)!

644. Cf. v(i) on the introduction of ivory-carving in the late eighth century.

645. Bronze: 5.A.4. Ivory: Kunze, Ol.Ber. viii.230 n.43; Marangou, LEB 163-8, no.110 (third quarter of seventh century). Terracotta: vi and n.887; Jenkins, BSA xxxiii (1932-3) 68ff., pls.7.3-5; 8-10 (some discussed further in vi).

646. Perhaps supported by a terracotta "Lanzenschwinger" from Amyklai (Tsountas' excavations): Buschor-von Massow,VA 42, fig.21; cf. Heilmeyer, FOT 76 n.195.

647. BSA xiii.112-4, figs.3-4; cf. Dawkins, BSA xii.321.

648. Snodgrass, DAG 278.

649. Blinkenberg, FGO = Chr. Blinkenberg, Fibules Grecques et Orientales (Lindiaka v, 1926). The two additions are A.1 and B.1, below.

650. Droop, AO 198-9, pls.81-4.

651. AO pl.82g,l,p,q,r,t. An unpublished example from Amyklai (FIG.79) is now in Oxford (G.512).

652. E.g. of Types I and XIV.

653. E.g. E.4.

654. Snodgrass, DAG 294 n.62.

655. In general see esp. S. Reinach, Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Fibula"; Blinkenberg, FGO 13-41; O. Muscarella, "Ancient Safety Pins: Their Function and Significance", Expedition vi.2 (Winter,1964) 34-40; J. A. Alexander,"The History of the Fibula", Fest. W. F. Grimes (1973) 217-30; ibid. "The Study of Fibulae" in C. Renfrew,ed.,The Explanation of Culture Change (1973) 185-94.

656. Desborough, LMTS 56-8 concludes that the violin-bow fibula was not invented in Greece; H. Hencken,Tarquinia, Villanovans and Early Etruscans ii (1968) 621-2 believes the most likely place and date of origin to be "the inland zone of the western Balkans and adjacent areas of Hungary in the 13th century"; cf. M. Gimbutas, Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe (1965) 113-6. Other candidates (Northern Europe, Scandinavia and Northern Italy) have been proposed for the home of the Urfibel, but see now Alexander, Fest. Grimes 218-9, with fig.2.

657. A.1 is almost certainly from a Mycenaean context: see II.nn.318-9.

658. For the gems (AO 378-9, Group A, except no.8), see Boardman, IGems 110 n.1, 153; ibid., GGFR 117, 399. For the explanation as heirlooms, Snodgrass, DAG 278; cf. 382-3.

659. Desborough, LMTS 58; Hencken, op.cit. (n.656) 622.

660. Ao pl.83n may not be identical with BSA fig.3i.

661. Payne, Perachora i.170, pl.72.10-11.

662. The title describes the probable places of origin, for by far the greatest number has been found on the Greek mainland north of the Isthmus of Corinth.

663. For dating and interpretation of the scenes, see recently R. A. Higgins, BMQ xxiii (1961) 105; K. De Vries, AJA lxxiv (1970) 192 (summary); J. Carter, BSA lxvii (1972) 28ff.; R. Hampe in Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des Arch. Inst. Univ. Heidelberg. Neuerwerbungen, 1957-1970 i (1971) 88-99, nos.121-9.

664. Snodgrass, DAG 294 n.61 gives the essential bibliography, but note that Kunze, Fest. D.M. Robinson i (1951) 743 n.27 had anticipated Close-Brooks in supporting Blinkenberg. See further D. E. Strong, Catalogue of the Carved Amber .... British Museum (1966) 47, nos. 10-11. Other amber artefacts are considered in vii(d).

665. Muscarella = O. W. Muscarella, Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion (1967). See also his "Phrygian or Lydian?", JNES xxx (1971) 49-63; and briefly Boardman, GO^2 84-5, fig.27.

666. Stone moulds have been found at Bayrakli and elsewhere: Muscarella 48-51, pl.16.

667. The interior arc is now missing, perhaps as a result of cleaning.

668. Expedition vi.2 (1964) 40. He correctly points out, however, that "The fact that Phrygian objects are found in Greece and Italy tells us nothing about the manner in which they arrived." Another suggestion is that the fibulae were imported together with Phrygian textiles: Jantzen, Fest. F. Matz (1962) 42-3; R. M. Boehmer, AA 1973, 149-72 (wide-ranging survey of the origin and export of Phrygian ceremonial dress). On Greco-Phrygian relations, see further Snodgrass, DAG 347-50.

669. Alexander = J. Alexander, "The Spectacle Fibulae of Southern Europe", AJA lxix (1965) 7-23. The author is apparently unaware of AO; and I do not know what evidence there is to justify his giving Sparta as a provenience for his Type IV b (p.22).

670. H.15 (B.M. 545) consists of two layers of spirals welded together and was perhaps two fibulae originally; H.16 and 17 (B.M. 633-4), missed by Blinkenberg, are entered in the Accessions Register as "Archaic" and so were presumably found with post-"Geometric" pottery: cf. AO 198.

671. The drawing in BSA does not precisely tally with the photograph (cf. A.2), but, as has been pointed out several times, the excavators' drawings are not always distinguished by their fidelity to the originals!

672. See his Jugoslavia before the Roman Conquest (1972).

673. References in Alexander 20-1.

674. M. Andronikos, Vergina i. To Nekrotapheion tōn Tymbōn (1969) 227-30, figs.67-8 and plates: over 100 examples were found in female burials of perhaps the ninth and even tenth centuries. For the controversy over the dating of the tumuli, see Snodgrass, DAG 253 ff.; cf. the reviews of Andronikos by K. De Vries, AJA lxxv (1971) 98-9 and K. Kilian, Gnomon xlv (1973) 580-5.

675. Bouzek, HG 154; for a list of the Greek findspots of Macedonian bronzes in general, see V. Pingel, MarbWPr. 1970, 27-8 with fig.4 on p.17; Bouzek, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974) esp.175-9.

676. See n.809.

677. Wace, AO 267 and n.68, 272, fig.125g (Lead II).

678. References in Alexander 22 (the examples from Crete and Thera have a separate pin). Kilian, Archäologische Forschungen in Lukanien iii (1970) 166-7 argues against Alexander's view that the Italians took over a Greek form; he regards Italian and Greek as roughly contemporary and both as derived from the central and south-east European "Posamenterie" fibula.

679. Alexander 23.

680. Cf. S. Benton, "The Dating of Horses on Stands and Spectacle Fibulae in Greece", JHS lxx (1950) 16-22, at pp.17-18 (already cited in connection with the Orthia stratigraphy: text and n.76).

681. Benton 18 (and her n.28).

682. There is as yet, however, nothing in the Greek world to parallel the tumulus at Gordion which contained 37 fibulae strewn about a man's body and a further 145 in a bag nearby! On the fringes of the Greek world the quantity of fibulae from Vergina (n.674: probably originally evidence of immigration from further north) is unexampled to the south.

683. The fibula has been cited in this connection as corroborative evidence for the hypothesis of an adverse climatic change involving lower temperatures from c.1200 B.C. For the difficulties of such hypotheses, see I.nn.135-7. For Dark Age dress in general, see Snodgrass, DAG 394, 439 n.35.

684. Boardman, GO^2 85, fig.27c (East Greek coin of the early sixth century with representation of fibula as obverse type). On money generally, see Appendix VII.

685. Cf. Payne, Perachora i.167-9. The enormous deposit of early bronzes, including fibulae, from Pherai will shortly be published by Dr K. Kilian of Heidelberg.

686. Jacobsthal, GP = P. Jacobsthal, Green Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia (1956): reviewed by P. J. Riis, Gnomon xxix (1957) 541-4; Boardman, JHS lxxvii (1957) 352-3.

687. Useful recent discussions are J. Deshayes, Les Fouilles de la Deiras (Etudes Peloponnésiennes iv, 1966) 204-7: reviewed by Desborough, Gnomon xli (1969) 215-7, at 217; and Snodgrass, DAG 226-8, 288 n.19 (bibliography), 317. The unfortunate Dorians, incidentally, already robbed by recent scholarship of the patents for Geometric pottery, iron-using and cremation (see II.n.537), now stand to lose even that for the straight pin: cf. Kirk, SH 127.

688. Jacobsthal, GP 9-12.

689. BSA xiii.110, fig.1k: L.14.3 (= Jacobsthal, GP fig.29); AO pl.75f,g. Add now examples from the Kalamata pithos-burial, associated with horse A.13: AD xx.2 (1965) pl.213β; and unpublished finds from Orthia (FIG.81: Tray 2409). Other examples of this type occur at Tegea, the Argive Heraion, Perachora and Corinth.

690. BSA xiii.110, fig.1k is an example (see previous note); another from Amyklai: Furtwängler, JdI xxxiii (1918) 128; Jacobsthal, GP 14, 96 (size not stated); add FIG.80c (unpublished). The Tegean parallels (Payne, Perachora i.72) are more elaborate and may (pace Jacobsthal) be "show-piece" dedications. For criticism of the terminology, see Snodgrass, DAG 293 n.52.

691. As AO pl.75w; cf. Wace, BSA xv (1907-8) 144, pl.8.26-7 (Menelaion). On the use of iron, Jacobsthal, GP 13,87.

692. Jacobsthal, GP 12-13.

693. Jacobsthal, GP 159. The bone disc pinheads with circular decoration (AO pl.136.1 = GP fig.42) could be Geometric: Jacobsthal, GP 13,89.

694. (a) Orthia: BSA xiii.110, fig.1a,c,d,l; AO pl.75a (= GP fig.38), t (= GP fig.39), v (Inv.2218/11 = GP fig.37); (b) Menelaion: BSA xv. 144, pl.8.26-9. Incidentally, Jacobsthal, GP 114, believes (pace Droop) that bent pins like BSA xiii.110, fig.1a were "killed" before dedication.

695. Buschor-von Massow, VA 36, Beil.8.7; cf. Jacobsthal, GP 17,134.

696. Jacobsthal, GP 27, 44, 54, 155; also in bone: AO pl.136.2,5. For Near Eastern and European examples of the pattern, see GP 153-9.

697. BSA xiii.110, fig.1b = Jacobsthal, GP 126, fig.364; 131.

698. Buschor-von Massow, VA 36, Beil.8.4-5; Jacobsthal, GP 134. (For the bent Beil.8.5, cf. n.694). The type is apparently confined to the Peloponnese (Argive Heraion, Olympia, Bassai).

699. A third deserves to go on record here (omitted by Jacobsthal, GP 62-3), even though it is of Bronze Age date: the bird-pin from Geraki (FIG.82: Sparta Mus. 1776; H.20)found in a "Mycenaean" cist-tomb (Wace, BSA xi (1904-5) 95, 98; xvi.75, fig.4). Wace compared this "horned duck" to our birds A.9, 10 and 17.

700. No certain hairpins are known from Lakonia.

701. Jacobsthal, GP 96 gives several examples and compares the pairs of miniature lead pins from Orthia and the Menelaion, the earliest of which (AO pl.180.23: Lead I) falls in the third quarter of the seventh century. He also cites III.iv(c) 2 (pair of silver-gilt pins).

702. GP 95; cf. 96-7. See also F. Willemsen, Frühe Griechische Kultbilder (Diss. München, 1939) 13-14; R. M. Boehmer, op.cit. (n.668) 166 with n.177. For the role of women in the cult, see C. N. Edmondson, Hesperia xxviii (1959) 162-4.

703. Payne, Perachora i.70-1 (no pins of this type from Lakonia); cf. J. B. Salmon, BSA lxvii (1972) 161-5 (the temple probably collapsed, much as the first temple of Orthia did some 150 years later).

704. (a) Orthia: AO 199, pl.85q,r,u,v,w,x,y,z - "found earlier than the other types (of miscellaneous bronzes)"; (b) Menelaion: Wace, BSA xv.144, pl.9.13 (small and large sizes); (c) Amyklai: E. Fiechter, JdI xxxiii (1918) 122; Buschor-von Massow, VA 37 (twelve examples).

705. (a) Orthia: BSA xiii.117, fig.6b; AO 199, pl.85b,c,d,f,g,h,o,p (two are now B.M. 1923.2-12. 534; Oxford 1923.150; one had quadruple spirals); (b) Menelaion: BSA xv.144 ("Usually found with Geometric pottery only") - two are now Oxford 1923.193 (FIG.83). See now J. Bouzek, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974) 129 and n.4.

706. Desborough, GDA 98, 304; Snodgrass, DAG 317,319.

707. Elaphotopos (Epiros): I. Votokopoulou, AE 1969, 180, pl.24a; Hexalophos (Thessaly): D. Theocharis, AAA i (1968) 293, no.4 (with further bibliography). Roughly contemporary with the Lakonian are rings from Boeotia: J. Böhlau, JdI iii (1888) 363-4 l,m; and the Argive Heraion: Waldstein, AH ii, pl.91.1509.

708. BSA xiii.117, fig.6d; AO 199, pl.85i,k,l,m,n,s,t.

709. II.iv(c) 4-6. Further discussion, with references, of their use and significance may be found there.

710. (a) Orthia: BSA xiii.117, fig.6c; AO 199, pl.85a,e; (b) Amyklai: VA 37, Beil. 8.10-12. These may also have been earrings; cf. the Lead O votives considered in iv(d).

711. A comparatively elaborate example (Sparta 1689), which bears incised decoration of superimposed outlined triangles, is perhaps earlier than 650.

712. A number of these is now in Athens (N.M. 10652B).

713. The same decoration is found on the horse B.33, the bird A.6, a miniature bronze jug (10.A.2) and the pyramidal bronze "weight" (10.A.5).

714. AO 410, Index s.v. "Double Axes". Cf. Jacobsthal, GP 65 for their popularity in Artemisia (Ephesos and Lousoi too).

715. Boardman, CCO 42-5; and for the significance, Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion^2 (1950) 169ff.

716. For once I agree with A. Roes, RA n.s.i (1970) 205-7 (with some references in 205 n.5); cf. contra III n.269.

717. To the list of finds given there, add now Cl. Rolley, Coll. Stathatos iii (1963) 103, no.45; Amandry, op.cit. 242 (I.177).

718. Lamb, BSA xxviii.104-5, no.32, fig.6; AO 199, pl.80c-f,l. Cf. the perhaps later examples from SW. Messenia: AD xx (1965) pl.221a,β. As Miss Lamb points out, "it is curious that (the miniature pottery vases from Spartan sanctuaries) have no shape in common with the examples in bronze"; but see n.535 for the poor state of preservation of the bronzes engendered by the dampness of the soil. However, handles and fragments of bronze vessels were reportedly (AO 201) more frequent in the higher than in the "Geometric" levels at Orthia.

719. Cf. Bouzek, HG 157, with fig.60.3; Pingel, op.cit. (n.675); and now Bouzek, Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (1974).

720. Dawkins, AO 222-4; Marangou, LEB 93-111, nos.40-57. See further III.v(e).

721. Marangou, LEB 111 and nn.655-8.

722. According to Aristotle, Rhet. i.9.26, 1367^a (a very suggestive passage), it was semeion kalon to have long hair; but we cannot say when it first became kalon at Sparta.

723. For general bibliography on lamps, see the works cited in n.208.

724. Droop suggested that the cavities on the underside of the "lobes" might have once been "filled probably with paste bearing a moulded design".

725. Pyramidal: Dugas, BCH xlv (1921) 372, no.89, fig.22; cf. Boardman, IGems 156 and n.3. "Lobed": BCH xlv.371, no.86, figs.28,33; cf. JOAI iv (1901) 50 (from Lousoi).

726. The handles resemble nothing more than those of the "bird-cage" pendents, recently discussed by Bouzek, Fest. C.F.C. Hawkes (1971) 79-104; but oriental influence cannot be ruled out.

727. Text and nn.356-7, above. For later lead examples from Orthia, see e.g. AO pls. 180.19 (seven-stringed); 183.18-20; 189.7.

728. The best picture is Schweitzer, GKG pl.203; bibliography in Aign, op.cit. (n.356) 56 II/16, 392.

729. For bibliography on the cult, see the works cited in II.nn.328-30.

730. Plutarch, Mor. 238C; cf. for another apocryphal story of tampering with the number of strings in music-conscious Sparta, Plut., Mor. 220C.

731. The failure to reproduce it, let alone discuss it, in AO is culpable, as Kunze, Gnomon ix.8 pointed out.

732. It somewhat recalls Syro-Phoenician "candelabra": see now P. R. S. Moorey, Levant v (1973) 83-90, esp. 89.

733. Op.cit. in n.629. So far as I am aware, no one has yet given our head the attention it deserves.

734. The earliest is Kerameikos v.1 (1954) 201-5, 237, fig.5 and pl.162 (Grave 42: MGI); cf. Snodgrass, DAG 115-6, fig.56; and, with further bibliography on oriental imports, Herrmann, JdI lxxxi (1966) 132 ff. Dr P. R. S. Moorey kindly informs me that B.M. 134903 (BMQ xxxvi (1971-2) 140) has a reported Peloponnesian provenience.

735. Bibliography in Carter 47 n.123. See also n.737.

736. Phoenicians perhaps acted as the middlemen: J. D. Muhly, Berytus xix (1970) 48-9.

737. Kunze, Gnomon xxx (1958) 333 believes the Idalion bowl to be a Cypriot imitation.

738. Jenkins, BSA xxxiii.69, 79 specifically equates BSA xxviii, pl.10, 029 with his Protodedalic, but this seems too early; Lamb, on the other hand, appears to place them all in the early sixth century, which is certainly too late. For the terracotta comparanda, see vi(b). For a later bronze mould from Olympia (now Athens N.M. 6139), see now W.-D. Heilmeyer, JdI lxxxiv (1969) 25 and n.119, fig.29.

739. I have omitted the well-known Karlsruhe head (bibliography in K. Davaras, Die Statue aus Astritsi (1972) 54 no.19) and double-headed sphinx (Kunze, Ol. Ber. ii.118), both from Olympia, for which Jenkins, Dedalica 40 toyed with a Lakonian origin.

740. Marangou, LEB no.29: she dates this hunter plaque 630-20.

741. Droop, AO 201, fig.115 (procession of chariots); K. Rhomaios, AE 1957, 147, figs.36-7 (plaques from the temple of Athena Soteira and Poseidon at Asea).

742. It was probably a wall-decoration, doubtfully a (ceremonial?) shield-attachment.

743. It most strongly recalls the protomes discussed in A.9, with some of which it is contemporary; cf. somewhat the ivory disc-protomes: Marangou, LEB nos.75-83.

744. Lamb, GRB 36 could even write: "Olympia and Sparta are, perhaps, the most important sites that have produced Geometric bronzes". Kunze Gnomon ix.8 is perhaps nearer the mark in comparing the Spartan most closely to the Tegean.

745. See Appendix X (temple); III.viii(b) (connection with victory in Messenia).

746. Higgins = R. A. Higgins, Greek and Roman Jewellery (1961): technical aspects are considered in his Part I, esp. pp.3-7 (gold and silver). See also Higgins, "Early Greek Jewellery", BSA lxiv (1969) 143-53; E. Bielefeld, "Schmuck", Archaeologia Homerica i, ch.C(1968). On the sources of silver, see M. Cary, Mélanges G. Glotz i (1932) 133-42.

747. "Too little material survives for any profitable speculation about a Laconian school of jewellery, which, however, may well have existed": Higgins 101.

748. See the references in iv(b) 7.F.

749. Blinkenberg, FGO 35; cf. p.302 for Index to silver fibulae.

750. A plain gold ring is dated (presumably erroneously) "to about the year 800" (AO 383).

751. For other pairs in gold or silver, see GP 116ff. (wrong reference to our example on p.116).

752. (a) Orthia: AO pls.180. 23-4; 186.2-4; 194.28-31; (b) Menelaion: BSA xv.134, fig.8.15,16; 140, fig.11. 15-17, 19.

753. For similar votive axes in other materials, see iv(b) 10.1, with further bibliography.

754. Cf. too AO 383, pl.203.1 (pomegranate-pendent of amethyst set in gold), which should be close in date. Also comparable are the pin-heads discussed by Jacobsthal, GP 28-30, figs.116-123, esp.116 (from Lousoi); and the bronze lotus (FIG.75d) and pomegranate flowers: AO pl.89 i,n.

755. (a) Menelaion: BSA xv,pl.8.9; (b) Orthia: AO 257, pl.180.15-16 (Lead I) - Wace gives a full citation of pomegranate buds in gold, silver, ivory, terracotta and bronze from Orthia and the Menelaion.

756. AO 383: that "definitely" is rather unnerving!

757. Higgins 120-1.

758. Bibliography on the seal in n.838; on the siren in n.839.

759. Wace, SMC 552 a-b, 694 and 679; AO ch.9 (warmly and justly praised by Kunze, Gnomon ix.14). The majority is now in the Sparta Museum, but samples are also to be found in the National Museum, Athens; Oxford; Cambridge and Liverpool (Miss D. Slow kindly gave me details of the latter). There are also a few strays in Munich. For the way in which the wreaths at least were cast, see AO pl.193.11 (FIG.75f); for the source of the metal, see n.764 below.

760. (1) Sparta (except Orthia: see previous note): (a) Akropolis (no.1): BSA xiii.153, xiv.145, xxvi.248; (b) Megalopolis Road Sanctuary (no.3): BSA xiii.173; (c) Mill of Matallas (? Athena Alea? Zeus Plousios: Pausanias iii.19.7): BSA xiii.7; (d) Menelaion (no.5): SMC pp.226ff. (earlier references in AO 249 n.1), BSA xv.127ff.; (2) Amyklai (no.8): (a) Amyklaion: SMC p.228, VA 38; (b) Ay. Paraskevi, Ergon for 1960, 169; (3) Anoyia (no.11): BSA xvi.65; (4) Eleusinion (no.12): BSA xvi.12, xlv.271-2; (5) Anthochorion (no.39): Praktika for 1962, 114; (6) Analipsis (no.72): Praktika for 1956, 185; (7) Ancient Tyros (no.81): Praktika for 1911, 275. Apart from Analipsis, all these sanctuaries (I am sure that they were such) are on territory which, in my view, was owned directly by the Spartan state (the Spartan plain and the Thyreatis). I would, therefore, suggest that their absence from Gythion (no.43) and the Hyperteleaton (no.99) - to name only the two most important - could be an argument in favour of the view that these were perioikic sites.

761. (1) Arkadia: (a) Bassai: AE 1910, 324, fig.45; (b) Gortsouli (Mantineia): AD xviii.2 (1963) 89; (2) Argolid: (a) Argive Heraion: AO 250; O. Alexandri, BCH lxxxviii (1964) 525-30; (b) Porto Cheli (Ancient Halieis): Expedition xi.2 (Winter, 1969) 29; (3) Corinthia: (a) Perachora: Perachora i, pls.85.1-4; 48.1-3 (pl.85.1 from the same mould as the example from the Argive Heraion published by Alexandri); (b) Corinth: AO 249; (c) Phleious: AO 250. Pace Chrimes, AS 76 n.3, the finds from the Argolid and the Corinthia are not likely to be Corinthian.

762. The inference drawn at the end of n.760 may be incorrect or even illegitimate, but it is quite certain that these mass-produced articles are the humble offerings of the ordinary Spartan (or Spartans en bloc), as opposed to the "bespoke" dedications that the metal artefacts usually represent. This inference is especially obligatory in the case of the few types specifically considered below, which mainly ape the originals fashioned in precious metals.

763. The vast majority is indeed "bauerlich" from the point of view of style and sophistication, but their chief value for the art-historian lies rather in the complement (and, in the case of the precious metals, supplement) they provide to the information that can be derived from the surviving (or assumed) prototypes alone. They also have a "stratigraphical" significance: see AO 2.

764. The sites of lead ore in Lakonia are listed in Appendix II.C. The likeliest sources of the ore used for the votives are clearly those in the vicinity of Kardamyle (no.57).

765. The interpretation of this absence is of course problematic: if the lead did indeed come from the Kardamyle area, difficulties of transport and an uncertain security situation may have been aggravating the technical difficulties of mining and processing the ore. On the other hand, the presence of hoplites as a type among the Lead I (after 650) series may indicate that the true explanation is social: only after the defeat of the Messenians (in the "Second" Messenian War, or one phase of it) did the Spartan "masses", now an at least vaguely self-conscious hoplite "class", feel the need and desire to register their existence with the goddess. (The quotation from Hippokrates at the head of this Part is apposite here). No doubt other interpretations are possible.

766. See iv (c) 4, above.

767. Wace calls them all "jewellery" types; see also n.762.

768. The latter recall the bronze tortoise: iv(b) 3.B.1.

769. Marangou, LEB 262-3 n.753 usefully assembles references to most Lakonian sphinxes (except those in vase-painting). N. Verdhelis, BCH lxxv (1951) 1-37, at pp.25-7, is incomplete and further flawed by erroneous chronology for the Orthia finds.

770. R. D. Barnett, The Nimrud Ivories (1957) 114-21; cf. G. M. A. Richter, The Furniture of the Greeks, Romans and Etruscans (1966) 53, 127; H. Kyrieleis, Throne und Klinen (1969) 106 n.451.

771. Published by Alexandri (n.761), it is now Fittschen, UBSG 137, GP 15a (Fittschen disputes the attribution to Lakonia). For "Middle Dedalic" terracottas, see vi(b).

772. For the sources of iron in Lakonia, see Appendix II.B. For the poor preservation of iron artefacts from Orthia, see III.iv(a).

773. A. M. Woodward (with O. Davies), AO 391-3; C. T. Seltman, Athens, Its History and Its Coinage (1924) 120, fig.67 (in Cambridge); B. M. 1923.2-12.628-32. The statement that they were not definitely found later than Lakonian I (AO 391) is corrected by Dawkins, JHS 1 (1930) 299.

774. "A shallow pit (of uncertain date) was found dug into the undisturbed clay, and contained a large quantity of iron; this had been worked on the spot, for much slag and clear signs of burning accompanied the finished pieces - a spear-head and numerous spits (obeloi) - which lay in and around the pit": BSA xxvi (1923-5) 245; cf. BSA xxvii.43-4. It is not stated whether the Akropolis examples were, like those from Orthia, normally square in section.

775. (1) Megalopolis Road: BSA xiii.173 and n.1 (3 examples, not earlier than the seventh century); (2) Geraki: BSA xi.96 (4 fragments of uncertain date: largest L.31, thickness 0.8; square in section). Note also the iron "rod" from Angelona (no.92); BSA xi.82 (probably later sixth or earlier fifth century). With perioikic sites, of course, the question whether they ever played a secular monetary role need not arise.

776. DAG 286.

777. Barnett = R. D. Barnett, "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories", JHS lxviii (1948) 1-25. Marangou = E.-L. I. Marangou, Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien (1969). On the technique of carving, see Barnett in C. Singer et al., edd., A History of Technology i (1954) 663-83.

778. Some seals (see n.831) and lesser items are still in Sparta. A small assortment is in Munich: JHS 1 (1930) 238-9; other small selections are in London (B.M.), Oxford and Cambridge. But the vast majority of the figural carvings is in the National Museum, Athens, where they were cleaned and restored nearly 20 years ago: BCH lxxx (1956) 223.

779. Barnett 14 describes it as "the most important but the dullest in Greece". As F. Poulsen, Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst (1912) quickly saw, the origins and development of ivory-carving in Lakonia raise in microcosm most of the problems of the "orientalising" phase of Greek art. The disappearance of ivory from the Orthia strata in the sixth century has been used (wrongly, in my view) as an important plank in the "sudden death" theory of Spartan high culture: see v(i) and nn.860-1.

780. The two high absolute chronology has now been rectified by Boardman, AOC 4-5.

781. In his percipient review Kunze, Gnomon ix (1933) 12-14 observed that final full publication was still a desideratum; Dawkins' "defence" (AO 246) hardly convinces. Marangou has filled the gap somewhat in what was originally a doctoral thesis: this is especially useful for its exhaustive (to 1968) bibliographies (false references, esp. to AO, notwithstanding), descriptions of individual pieces, concordances and indexes; if there is any one overriding defect, it is the misleading impression conveyed by her often over-precise dating.

782. (a) Akropolis: BSA xiii.153; xxvi.248, 275, fig.7.1-2 (N.M. 15790: Marangou fig.162); xxviii.44 (fragment from only ivory plaque found); (b) Menelaion: BSA xv.143-4 (for pl.8.16, see Marangou n.902; pl.8.21, Marangou 181 and n.1009a); (c) Megalopolis Road Sanctuary: BSA xiii. 173; (d) Precise findspot unknown (grave): Marangou 171 and n.950, 174, figs.147,148 and 150; (e) Mesoa: see I.n.368 (bone horse in female grave).

783. (a) Amyklai: Buschor-von Massow, VA 17,38; Marangou 14, figs.11-13 (N.M. 3796-8); (b) Anthochorion: unpublished (inscribed bone); (c) Leonidhion: see n.840. Unworked bones from sacrificial animals have been found on several sanctuary-sites.

784. G. Dickins, Burlington Magazine xiv (1908) 70 thought of Miletos and Ephesos, but the islands of Rhodes, Samos or Crete are more plausible.

785. Al Mina is a likely entrepôt: the tusks found here (now in the B.M.: Boardman, JHS lxxxv (1965) 13 n.28) "may reflect the trade in the raw material which served the many Greek schools of ivory-workers of the seventh century" (GO^2 60). Other possibilities are Tell Sukas and Tarsus.

786. On the now extinct Syrian elephant, see B. Brentjes, Klio xxxix (1961) 14ff.; other sources of ivory are listed by Barnett 1 n.4. According to T. K. Penniman, Pictures of Ivory and other Animal Teeth, Antler and Bone (Pitt Rivers O.P.T.v, 1952), ivory from different regions and animals can be scientifically distinguished; but for work on early Greek ivories, see only H. Taylor, BSA 1 (1955) 248-50 (chemical investigations on ivories from Mycenae, Syria and Nimrud). For the etymology of ἐλέφας, see E. Laroche, RPh xxxix (1965) 56-9; cf. M. Treu, "Homer und das Elfenbein", Philologus xcviii-ix (1954-5) 151-2.

787. The pottery-association is not an infallible guide to date (e.g. AO pl.103.1 was found with "Geometric" alone, but Marangou (her no. 31, p.66) puts it in the last quarter of the seventh century); but in general I assume that anything found with "Geometric" (i.e. including "Subgeometric": see III.n.56) was made before c.650. On the other hand, objects associated with pottery later than "Geometric" could of course have been made before 650 but not dedicated or thrown out until later.

788. Blinkenberg, FGO 276-7, Type XV.14a gives a selection. A recent find from Megara Hyblaia of the third quarter of the seventh century may be Lakonian: Marangou 200 and n.1151.

789. AO pl.167.2 may also be a fibula-plaque, but bears only incised linear decoration.

790. Of the other two one was too poorly preserved to illustrate, but may have shown a single female figure (AO 206); the other (AO pl.92.5) was found in a context that included "Laconian I".

791. Marvellous enlargements in Zervos, CH figs.240-1.

792. Marangou takes the Menelaion "goddess" (our iv(b) 5. A.4) as a terminus post quem and so dates the plaques c.685-75. Boardman, AOC 4 less dogmatically prefers a date nearer the mid-century.

793. "Flechtbandrahme": Marangou nn.43,1240. Wings: Spartz, loc.cit. (n.494). "Potnia theron" (a nomenclature criticised by Marangou 16): see now Chr. Christou, Potnia Theron (1968) ch.2 and p.213, nos. 2-3; also the works cited in Marangou n.145. "Sacred Tree": see III.iii (h) and n.491. Reviewing Christou, K. Schefold, MH xxvi (1969) 121 has salutarily observed: "Die Künstler empfanden die Heiligkeit der orientalischen Motive, die sie sich angewandelten, aber sie waren keine Theologe".

794. That these were locally produced is confirmed both by their reduced quality compared to that of the oriental "models" and by roughly contemporary Lakonian works in other media, e.g. the Subgeometric warrior's head on a sherd (III.iii(h) and nn.516ff.) and the terracotta head-vase (III.vi(b) and nn.887-8: FIG.86).

795. Only no.6 (AO pl.93.2; see now Zervos, CH fig.239) is expressly stated to have been found with "Geometric" alone, and there were very few sherds of that.

796. These dates are reached mainly on the basis of "Early Dedalic" parallels: this latter class and its instances are considered further in III.vi(b).

797. To the archaeological and literary evidence for the association of Orthia with Eileithyia assembled in Marangou nn.150-2, add Tod-Wace, SMC 364, recently illustrated in BCH xcv (1971) 880, fig.165.

798. Marangou n.1022; cf. K. Davaras, op.cit. (n.502) 24 n.73.

799. III.iii(d) and n.286; (g) and nn.411, 453-4. For the connection between Orthia and snakes, Marangou nn.124,136.

800. No.16 was found with "PC and Laconian I" as well as Geometric.

801. Kunze, AS 160; Stibbe, LVSJ ii, pls.4.1, 71.3, 88.2, 106.1 (also on sirens); cf. the bronze siren: BCH lxxx (1956) 223, fig.5; and the seventh-century sphinx on a terracotta relief-vase: AD xix.1 (1964) pl.82.

802. Marangou 128: sphinxes in ivory, lead, terracotta, limestone and bronze are collected in n.753.

803. Marangou 212.

804. Dunbabin, Perachora ii.406, A.7; Marangou 190.

805. Blinkenberg, FGO 277-8, Type XV.15; AO 225-6, pl.134.

806. Later examples in bone and ivory are Marangou nos.13,26 and perhaps 79, and several seals.

807. For amber in general, see III.vii(d).

808. The pin was of iron: cf. III.iv(e).

809. Blinkenberg, FGO 265, Type XV.1d,e; 268, Type XV.5d, fig.314; 273, Type XV.9c; AO 224-5, pls.132-3. Other Greek findspots: Perachora ii.433-7.

810. III.iv(b) 7.H; cf.7.I for a bronze retranslation of the bone and ivory copies.

811. S. Benton, JHS lxx (1950) 18 and n.28.

812. G. Ahlberg, Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek geometric Art (1971). For the rite in art and literature, see Kurtz-Boardman, GBC Index s.v., esp.143-4; on later Spartan austerity in funeral rites, Plut., Lyk. xxvii.1-2.

813. The modelling somewhat relates to that of Group D.

814. Boardman, AOC 4.

815. Now Fittschen, UBSG 132, GS 6.

816. Now Fittschen, UBSG 117-8, SB 20. Fittschen accepts the identification with Herakles and Nessos (and therefore Deianeira).

817. Nos.26 and 27 were found with "PC" as well as "Geometric", no.25 with "Laconian I" as well (AO 209).

818. Payne, Perachora i. 145-6 and n.3 thought no.25 contemporary with the Auxerre "goddess", for which see n.922.

819. The myths depicted by horses B.20 and 27 (if they are Lakonian horses) cannot be securely identified. On the problems of mythology in early Greek art, see generally Fittschen, UBSG, esp.199-201 (summary); J. Carter, BSA lxvii (1972) 25-58. and for two areas only, H. von Steuben, Frühe Sagendarstellung in Korinth und Athen (1968). Fittschen and von Steuben are included in the useful survey by J. Bouzek, "New Studies in the Iconography of Early Greek Art", Eirene xi (1973) 189-94.

820. AO 230-6, pls.148-60; JHS 1 (1930) 298-9, pl.11.3,4 (Munich); London, B.M. 1923.2-12. 603, 612, 618; Oxford 1923. 121-2; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus.Gr. 133.1923 (AO pl.155.1), 134.1923. Marangou estimates that some 130 are still available for study: those in Athens on rectangular (74 examples) and rounded (8) bases are listed in her nn.672-3. AO pl.168.6 (N.M. 15563), with the animal abbreviated to a head, looks like a trial-piece: it was found with "Geometric" only (AO 240). Of unknown provenience but arguably Lakonian manufacture is an ivory base (animal lost) with winged figure in relief underneath (B.M. 1954. 9-10.1): Marangou, "Aristaios", AM lxxxvii (1972) 77-83, pl.36.1.

821. Other findspots include the Argive Heraion, Perachora, Ithaka, Chios, Siphnos, Rhodes, Delos, Athens, Tegea, Pherai, Samos and Tocra. Mrs Stubbings in Perachora ii.403 and 408 argued that the twelve from Perachora were Lakonian imports, but Boardman has pointed to the chronological priority and artistic superiority of the Perachora and Heraion series; indeed, in JHS lxxxviii (1968) 10 n.35 he has raised the possibility that some (many?) of those found at Orthia may have been made outside Sparta (but see n.820 foratrial-piece). Marangou nn.701 and 1042 supports Stubbings in the case of Perachora A 11 and 22, but describes A 12, 13, 16 and 19 as "very unLakonian" (p.188). She adds finds at Ithaka (n.1074), Tocra (n.664) and perhaps Siphnos (p.193) to the list of Lakonian exports.

822. In fact below the fine cobble pavement, which perhaps represents a repair of the c.700 original: see III.ii(d).

823. Barnett 13-14, pls.8b-e, 9; Stubbings, Perachora ii.407ff.; Boardman, IGems 150-1, fig.18a, pls.17d, 20c,d: he remarks on the generally "graphic" style of cutting; ibid., GGFR 114.

824. She publishes only the "lions-tearing-prey" (nos.58-71) and the sphinx (no.72), but promises publication of the other 115 or so in connection with a general study of Lakonian seal-carving (n.670). The lions are divided into two sub-groups (different both in style and function) and eight singletons; the head-type, the motif and the class are all of oriental, especially Anatolian ("Neo-Hittite": see Herrmann, Ol.Forsch. vi.71-2 nn.2-4) inspiration, but differences in details and conception (ears, eyes, placement of nuzzle, softening of expression, grooved fillet between ears) betray the Greek, and Lakonian, craftsmanship; the earliest lion (no.58) belongs to the early 670's, according to comparisons with PC vasepainting. The odd man out is the lionslayer added to no.60 (now Fittschen, UBSG 84, L45): he may be Herakles. On Lakonian lions and their relationship to oriental prototypes and those of other regional Greek schools, cf. H. Gabelmann, Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild (1965) 26-30, 111-2. For the sphinx, see n.828.

825. Only two were found with "Laconian II", two more with "Laconian III-IV" (AO 231); cf. n.787.

826. This type of ivory seal is not known in the Near East contemporaneously with the Lakonian series, but similar animals were being produced: Barnett 14, pls.8-9. (The lions found with the famous Dipylon "goddess" ivories are not really parallels, pace Stubbings 408 n.3).

827. On chronological priority, see n.821. As Marangou 208 points out, "es sich hier nicht um 'Imitation' der anregenden (sc.orientalischen) Prototypen handelt". The influences may have been transmitted to Lakonia via the centres which acted as intermediaries for the trade in the raw material: see my nn.784-5.

828. Barnett 14 calls the sphinx (Marangou no.72) "very oriental" and Marangou dates it earlier than the lions, in the first quarter of the seventh century; cf. Boardman, JHS lxxxviii.10: "Where (the subject) is a novelty, ... the form remains more obstinately eastern, unless it is translated into a different medium by artists with an already established representational idiom".

829. The suggestion that the dedication of ivory animals (with obvious exceptions) was intended to secure the same objectives as animal-sacrifices is perhaps worth consideration. Couchant rams in other materials: AO 157-8 (terracotta), 386 (amber); couchant bulls (bronze): iv(b) 3.A.4-5.

830. See e.g. n.596. The one noteworthy exception is the intaglio of four running legs (tetraskeles):AO pl.156.6 (N.M. 15598), below a couchant ram. The only parallel I am aware of (thanks to Dr C. Kraay) is the device on Lycian coins, but this is not exact and of course it is much later. Very tentatively I suggest this was an appropriate dedication for one of the series of Lakonian runners who carried off Olympic crowns from 720 (trad.) onwards; cf., for a similar interpretation of the triskeles device on the "Wappenmünzen", Kraay, Coins of Ancient Athens (1968) 2, with pl. 1.2.

831. AO 228-30, pls.139-47: inadequate. About 30 of early seventh-century date and largely unpublished are in the Sparta Museum: Marangou 193 and n.1084 (Dr Marangou generously permitted me to photograph her plasticine impressions); one of the most interesting shows three schematic warriors in unmistakably hoplite equipment and attitude: cf. Appendix XII. Marangou (n.670) has announced her intention to devote a study to Lakonian seal-glyptic as a whole: meanwhile, see Boardman, IGems 145 ff.

832. One, of iron (cf. III.iv(e)), is wholly preserved: AO pl.141.1. This was designed for suspension.

833. Profile drawings in Boardman, IGems 146, fig.15 = GGFR 117, fig.167. Boardman derives the stepped variety from similar examples in stone known at the Argive Heraion.

834. Boardman calls them ivory, presumably in error.

835. On these griffins and the relationship of the beast to the orient, see III.nn.632-3.

836. Marangou 137-8, no.74: an important discussion from the stylistic and chronological viewpoints. The head is closely comparable to the chronologically pivotal Louvre aryballos (see n.936), but the "Kopfputz" is of "Syro-Phoenician" derivation (Marangou 208 and n. 870). The pelican is Jacobsthal, GP 62,211,fig.259; for the tremolo lines in the field, see Jacobsthal 209.

837. This piece neatly illustrates the impossibility of precisely dating such heads: Marangou's date falls between those of Homann-Wedeking, Anfänge 33 n.110 (675-50) and Jenkins, Dedalica 52 (c.630-20).

838. AO 229, pl.168.3; Boardman, IGems pl.19g (Athens N.M. 15673). Bronze wire is still preserved in the hole, but the method of mounting cannot be precisely determined. The long oval faces anticipate the finger-ring bezels of the late seventh century onwards: Boardman, GGFR 155.

839. Siren: Marangou 107 (early seventh-century) and n.621 (the reference to Kunze should read AM lvii (1932) 124ff., fig.1); cf. text and n.758 above. Pomegranate: III.nn.473 (priority of invention), 476. Bee: bibliography on bees and beekeeping in I.n. 286 (this is the earliest Lakonian representation); cf. O. W. Muscarella, Metropolitan Mus. Journal v (1972) 42 n.24.

840. 18 are now in Athens: Marangou n.1014; other references in Boardman, IGems 149. One example was found at Leonidhion (I.vi,no.83): Perachora ii.411, nn.4,5; others at the Argive Heraion and on Ithaka (one certainly Lakonian, according to Marangou n.1074).

841. Boardman, IGems 148, fig.17a, pl.19f publishes a round ivory scarab with an uncertain intaglio device from Sparta; cf. AO 240 (unillustrated ivory scarab with "trace of a geometric design"). For the faience scarabs found with LG pottery, see III.vii (c).

842. The main difficulty is the lack of secular evidence for this period. A clay-sealing impressed from an ivory disc was found at Perachora (Perachora ii.432, A 112), but Boardman, GGFR 114 sees this isolated find as either the offering of a seal-engraver or a charm to ensure effective secular use of the seal.

843. AO 222-4, pls.126-131; Marangou 93-111, nos.40-57. To Marangou's bibliography, add W. L. Brown, The Etruscan Lion (1960) 135 n.1.

844. Boardman, AOC 4 points out that the heads are more Dedalic than the rest, while Marangou, finding the closest parallels in Late Dedalic, dates it 630-20. But I wonder how far Marangou was influenced by her incorrect belief (p.148) that the context was "Geometric, PC and Laconian I".

845. Marangou 145-50 is an exhaustive piece of "Deutungsforschung": cf. n.797; but see Schefold as quoted in n.793. To the bibliography, add now T. Hadzisteliou-Price, "Double and Multiple Representations in Greek Art and Religious Thought", JHS xci (1971) 48-70, esp. 58-60 (Type II), pls.4.7; 5.10, 12.

846. AO 220-1, pls.122 below, 123 (123.3 with "Geometric"). One, with an intaglio crab (?), is now in Oxford (1923.128): Boardman, IGems 151, fig.18b. A find from Crete (like AO pl. 122,5,7) may be Lakonian: D. Levi, Annuario x-xii (1927-9) 701, fig.663; with Kunze, AM lx-lxi (1935-6) 218 n.1; Marangou n.1094.

847. The art-historical relationships and significance of the gesture are fully discussed by Marangou 166ff.

848. AO 216, pl.102.2,3 and 5. AO 241, pl.171.2,3 and 5 fill the gap, but are hardly serious works.

849. Superb reproduction in Zervos, CH fig.236.

850. But see n.885 for a comparison with a Protoattic head.

851. The Ephors' annual injunction (Plut., Mor.550B; cf.Aristotle fr.539 Rose) was effective, to judge from a number of Lakonian warrior-bronzes and terracotta masks, not to mention the marble "Leonidas".

852. AO 240, pl.168.4 (N.M. 15494). I have not seen this piece and judgements of style and date cannot be based on a drawing alone.

853. AO 239, pl.167.B; stili (not kohl-needles): Perachora ii.445-6.

854. Pinheads: AO 226-7, as pl.136.1-5; for rosette pin-heads, cf.n.693. Pendents: AO 226 (4 only). Beads: AO 227-8, as pl.137.1-6, 9-14. Knuckle-bones: AO 237, as pl.162.11. Double-axes: see iv(b) 10. A.1. Plectrum (?): AO 239. Articles of uncertain use: AO 237, pls.162.9, 12; as 163.2-4; 168.1-2.

855. Snodgrass, DAG 248.

856. The remarkable finds in the Dipylon cemetery at Athens, Grave 13: to the bibliography in Marangou n.1016, add Coldstream, GGP 361; Zervos, CH figs.237-8 (N.M. 776).

857. The first truly "orientalising" Greek work is perhaps the bronze lion on a tripod-handle from Olympia (Furtwängler pl.30.641): Herrmann, Gymnasium lxxiv (1967) 484.

858. That Lakonian ivories were produced in Lakonia is proved both by the unfinished pieces in the Orthia deposits (AO pls.106.3; 116. 1-2; and perhaps 168.6 - see n.820) and by the coexistence there of masterpieces and inferior works (Marangou 202).

859. Marangou 74ff., fig.56 (Perseus slaying Medusa) and perhaps 197 n. 1114, fig.58 (gorgon-head fragment). Herrmann, Germania xliv (1966) 86 n.37, followed by Marangou 42, 139, has now (very dubiously) ascribed the magnificent kneeling youth (Marangou figs. 29a, 94 with nn.214, 232: late seventh century) to Lakonia.

860. The lowering of the date of the second ("Archaic") temple from c. 600 to c.570/60 (Boardman) strengthens this hypothesis. Another entrepôt, Al Mina (see n.785), may have suffered the same fate as Tyre: Boardman, GO^2 50.

861. Marangou most usefully summarises her detailed discussions of the relationships between Lakonian carving and that of both the rest of Greece (pp.185-202) and the orient (pp.203-213) and places them in their historical setting.

862.

Jenkins I	=	R. J. H. Jenkins, "Laconian Terracottas of the Dedalic Style", BSA xxxiii (1932-3) 66-79.
Jenkins II	=	Dedalica. A Study of Dorian Plastic Art in the Seventh Century B.C. (1936): main review by F. Matz, Gnomon xiii (1937) 401-14.
Amandry	=	P. Amandry, BCH lxii (1938) 305-31, at 322-6.
Kaulen	=	G. Kaulen, Daidalika. Werkstätten griechischen Kleinplastik des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (1967); reviews by D. G. Mitten, AJA lxxiv (1970) 108-10 (over-gentle); Rolley, RA n.s. i (1970) 133-4.
Meola	=	E. Meola, Terrecotte Orientalizzanti di Gela (Mon. Ant. xlviii,1971).
Davaras	=	K. Davaras, Die Statue aus Astritsi (AK Beiheft viii, 1972).

863. R. V. Nicholls, AJ xlix (1969) 144, reviewing Higgins, op.cit. (n.865).

864. Kunze, Gnomon ix.9 observes that terracottas are "selten durch einen hohen individuellen Gehalt getrübt".

865. Of the older syntheses, see esp. E. Pottier, Les Statuettes de Terre Cuite dans l'Antiquité (1890); F. Winter, Die antiken Terrakotten (Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten iii, 1903); Müller, FPGV. Of the more recent, S. Mollard-Besques, Les Terres Cuites Grecques (1963); R. A. Higgins, Greek Terracottas (1967). For technical matters, see Mollard-Besques 120 (bibliography).

866. On differences of classification, see the mise au point of Nicholls "Type, Group and Series", BSA xlvii (1952) 217-26.

867. The studies from which I have profited most are: Kunze, AM lv (1930) 141-62; Homann-Wedeking, Anfänge: review by W. Kraiker, Gnomon xxiv (1952) 449-60; R. M. Cook, JHS lxxxvii (1967) 24-31 (with references to the more recent literature); Kunze, Ol. Ber. viii (1967) 213-36 (mainly on bronzes).

868. Bibliography on Lakonian terracottas (Sparta, Menelaion, Amyklai, Phoiniki) to 1902 in Winter i.xxxiii-iv. For the results of British excavations, see W. J. Farrell, BSA xiv (1907-8) 48-73 (Orthia); M. S. Thompson, BSA xv. 116-26 (Menelaion); J. M. Woodward, BSA xxix (1927-8) 75-107 (Akropolis). The main defects of Dawkins, AO ch.4 are incompleteness, incorrect absolute chronology and misleading grouping by meaningless "types": see respectively Kunze, Gnomon ix.9-10; Boardman, AOC 6; and Nicholls, op.cit. (n.866) esp. 217-8. For the German excavations at Amyklai, see Buschor-von Massow, VA 39-42 (with addenda of earlier finds on 42-3). A helpful recent publication of Lakonian terracottas is R. A. Higgins, A Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum (1954) 281ff.

869. Cf. J. L. Clough, Untersuchungen zum Archaismus an kretischen Gefässen und Kleinplastiken aus Ton und Bronze des achten und des frühen siebenten Jhs. v. Chr. (Diss. München, 1972) 163.

870. AO 158: it is said to reproduce exactly the "Geometric type of bronze horse found in such numbers at Olympia". There is a fragmentary handmade horse-and-rider from Amyklai (Tray 798) to add to the two from Orthia cited in n.875; all three are "kunstlos".

871. BSA xxix. 79, no.10, fig.2; Bouzek, op.cit. (n.604) 119 n.6, fig.12.4.

872. One perhaps attached to a shape as ILL.III.5j: Lane, LVP 104, pl.21g; cf. BSA xxix.79, no.11, fig.2; the other attached to a (pyxis?) lid: BSA xxviii.53.

873. BSA xv.122, fig.4.54. Jenkins I.67 compares it to the heads of the New York centauromachy (iv(b)1.B.27) and the lionslayer from Samos (Gehrig 3, no.3).

874. See III.n.646: dated by Dorig and Gigon (n.879) c.750-25.

875. (a) With "Geometric": AO 147-8, Type Ib (six as pl.29.6, whose decoration is Subgeometric); AO 152, Type VII, pl.35.3; AO 153, Type Xb (nearly all fifteen found with "Geometric": as pl.38.1-4); AO 154, Type XII, pl.39.3,5 and probably 4; AO 155, Type XIII (twelve humans, four as pl.40.1-7); 157-8 (ten animals, one cited in n.870); AO 159, Type XIV (one stray(?) pomegranate as pl.42.7; one double-axe).

(b) With "Geometric and Proto-Corinthian": AO 150, Type III (inference from fact that one was with pottery earlier than "Laconian I"); AO 150-1, Type V (two handmade horses probably with riders: see n.870); AO 154, Type XII, fig.109 (assigned to the "Geometric" stratum); AO 155, Type XIII (seven humans, one as pl. 40.12), 157 (eight animals). Also note BSA xiv.60, C.I.1, fig.4e (Late Dedalic janiform protome).

876. The scarcity of early handmade examples (Type XIII) is significant: cf. Heilmeyer, FOT 25 for the non-comparability between the finds from Sparta (and Argos and Aigina) and those from Olympia, the latter dated by him as early as the tenth century.

877. III.iii(d) 2 and nn.341-3.

878. R. V. Nicholls, "Greek votive statuettes and religious continuity c.1200-700 B.C.", Fest. E. M. Blaiklock (1970) 1-37, at 10 n.96. But see II.iii(d) and nn.152-4.

879. Select references: Tsountas, AE 1892, 13-14, pl.4.4-5; Tod-Wace, SMC pp.222-3; Furtwängler, JdI xxxiii (1918) 127; Buschor, VA 15; Kunze, AM lv.155ff., Beil.42-3; Jenkins I.68 n.1; Jenkins II.13 n.4; Hampe, FGS 32, 35-6, 38; F. R. Grace, Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia (1939) 77-82; Matz, GGK 82, 85, pl.31; Homann-Wedeking, Anfänge 23, 28, 29, 31, 35, 38, 117, 129, figs.8-9; Alscher, GP i, 32ff., figs.32-3; J. Dorig-O. Gigon, Der Kampf der Gotter und Titanen (1961) 46-7, pl.21b-c; Higgins, Greek Terracottas 24, 141, pl.9A-B; Schweitzer, GKG 149-50, pls.162-3; Zervos, CH figs.145-6 (best pictures); K. Wallenstein, Korinthische Plastik des 7. und 6 Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (1971) 16-17; Meola 27 n.84, 46 n.128, 61 n.211; P. Kranz, AM lxxxvii (1972) 5, pl.1.3-6.

880. The attribution to one hand was proposed by Jenkins and followed by Herrmann and those he cites in his n.187.

881. The identification as a warrior is guaranteed by the shape of the headgear (helmet): see n.520.

882. Homann-Wedeking, however, exaggerates when he ranks it with the ivory sphinx from Perachora (Wallenstein 97, I/B8) and the "Mantiklos" bronze (M. Comstock-C. C. Vermeule, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the M.F.A. Boston (1971) 16-17, no.15).

883. According to Jenkins I.68, these too are typically "Geometric" traits.

884. Athens 6613: to the bibliography in Herrmann 60 n.164, add now Rolley, Monumenta Graeca et Romana v.1 (1967) no.10; Schweitzer, GKG 149-50, 185, pls.159-61.

885. Olympia comes to mind as a meeting place and melting-pot of men and ideas; cf. the commentary on iv(b) 6.B.1. For a similarly striking but later parallel between Attika and Lakonia, see AM lxxvii (1962) Beil.21.1-2 (Protoattic Polyphemos and ivory head Marangou no.18).

886. The identification, proposed by Buschor, was strongly supported by K. A. Pfeiff, Apollon (1943) 20-2; for the cult-statue, see V. Müller, Metropolitan Museum Studies v (1936) 157. The date of the terracotta - probably nearer 700 than 725 - is reached by placing it within a series of artefacts including the bronze New York Centauromachy (our horse B.27), the Dipylon ivory "goddesses" (see n.856), a bronze attachment from Athens (Athens 6519: Herrmann 60 n.164; Wallenstein 19-21) and the Menelaion bronze "goddess" (iv (b) 5.A.4); it is perhaps supported by the use of the simple "key" meander around the helmet (see n.239).

887. Select references: Jenkins I.68, pl.7.1; P. Knoblauch, Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei in Kreta, Rhodos, Athen und Bootien (1937) 23, 123, no.51; Alscher, GP i.31-2, fig.31; Kunze, Ol.Ber. viii.230 n.40, figs. 79-80; Marangou 216 n.37, 127 and n. 748, figs.4-5; Meola 27 n.84; 29, fig.4b (whence FIG.86); Kranz,

AM lxxxvii.5-6, pl.1.1-2. On the difference between "heads made into vases" and "vases made into heads", see Jenkins II.9; on the rarity of head-vases in mainland Greece, Jenkins I.72-3.

888. Kunze, Gnomon ix.10 compared the warrior-head on a Subgeometric sherd (n.516); Marangou 13 saw that the nose and eyes anticipate her Group A ivory fibula-plaques; Wallenstein 167 n.36 dates it to the end of the first quarter of the seventh century. Jenkins, however, is supported by Knoblauch and Kranz.

889. Kaulen 72. Note, however, the similarity in the managing of the ear to the Menelaion head cited in n.873 (FIG.85b).

890. BSA xxix.86-9, no.32, pl.1; Kunze, KB 234 n.130; Jenkins I.68, 78-9, pl.7.2; II.24-5, pl.1.1; Grace, Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia 11-12, fig.5; Matz, GGK 157, pl.65b; Alscher, GP i.34, fig.35; Kaulen 30, T7, 85-8; Meola 27 n.84; I. Blanck, Studien zum griechischen Halsschmuck der archaischen und klassischen Zeit (Diss. Mainz, 1974) 56, fig.1. Just how flat and 2-D this is can be seen by comparing oriental "forerunners": Poulsen 40ff., figs.25-7, 33-6.

891. This is the categorical answer, from the viewpoint of vasepainting, to the question raised in Jenkins I.79 n.1; cf. Jenkins II.64-5. D. B. Thompson, Hesperia ii (1932) 607 is not, therefore, necessarily far out in her dating (c.650).

892. CR 1 (1936) 234.

893. The so-called "Etagenperücke": on its origins and development in Greek art, see Poulsen 137-61; Matz, JdI lxv-vi (1950-1) 100; Davaras 24-5, 58.

894. Cf. Marangou 138 and n.776.

895. What I would call "Protodedalic" stricto sensu. The transitional character is confirmed by the typical preference of Lakonian Dedalic coroplasts for the "Perlenlocken" hairstyle and a heavy, undifferentiated frontal fringe: Amandry 323; cf. Meola 63 n.229.

896. And not just in Lakonia: see generally N. M. Kontoleon, AE 1939-41, 1-33; Meola 11-47. Davaras has now convinced Schefold that the "Dedalic form in the strict sense ... is of Cretan origin" (ap. Davaras 3), but no doubt this dispute will continue.

897. The literary evidence for Daidalos and the Daidalidai (some sixth-century Lakonian craftsmen were second-generation Daidalids) is assembled in H.S. Jones, Select Passages from Ancient Writers illustrative of the history of Greek Sculpture (U.S. reprint, 1966) 3-16; cf. G. Rizza, "Dedalo e le origini della scultura greca", Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia dell' Arte ii (1963) 5-49; Davaras 41-3. For a scathing attack on Daidalos and all his works, see S. Casson, Oxford Magazine 22 Oct. 1936, quoted in extenso by Homann-Wedeking, Anfänge 155-6 n.124.

898. The use of the mould (the Akropolis head is probably among the earliest examples) was also borrowed from the orient (Syria), via Cyprus or Crete, early in the seventh century.

899. Marangou (esp.130) devotes a separate section to "Dädalisches".

900. The list of findspots in Jenkins II, Index, can be greatly extended, esp. to include the islands: Davaras 45-7; add now Archaeology xxvii (1974) 203 (Ephesos). On the other hand, Amyklai, as we noted, has yielded nothing Dedalic.

901. Some notable exceptions in nn.906, 914-6; cf. generally Meola 21-40.

902. This thesis is usefully illustrated by Cook, op.cit. (n.867).

903. Davaras also has four (for his Cretan sculpture of monumental character); but "Early" becomes "Severe", "Middle" becomes "Ripe" and has only two subdivisions. Kaulen, unconvincingly, has six main divisions (I and II corresponding chronologically to "Early", III and IV to part of "Middle", V and VI to the rest of "Middle" and to "Late") and ludicrously subdivides his III into six phases; cf. Meola 43 n.122.

904. Ch. Picard, REG 1 (1937) 160 thinks that the effect of Jenkins' system is "faire trop bon marché ... de la fantaisie des artistes, et même de l'incertitude de nos classements chronologiques"; cf. Meola 43 and nn.120-1.

905. On the quantity, Jenkins I.67, II.45; cf. Marangou 141. Amandry 330 speaks of "industrial production"; but see n.184. For quality the palm is usually awarded to Corinth: e.g. Jenkins II.34,53; but note the just protest of Amandry 329 n.4.

906. The long neck is perhaps the most striking feature of a terracotta recently found at Kardamyle (I.n.497). A rather similar "Sub-geometric" figurine from Argos is discussed by Jenkins, BSA xxxii (1931-2) 25-6, 37, fig.1.2 (= Meola 32, fig.7f) and dated by him 725-00, probably too high. The Kardamyle figurine should belong to the first quarter of the seventh century, roughly contemporary with Jenkins' Protodedalic and Early Dedalic but naturally not finding a place in his classification.

907. Jenkins I.69 and n.2, pl.7.3-4; II.24-7, pl.1.4. Cf. V. Tusa, Una statuetta di terracotta di tipo "dedalico" (1964) 13 n.19 (Sicilian comparandum).

908. BSA xiv.60, C.I. 3; Jenkins I, pl.7.5; II, pl.1.7: reproduced in Starr, OGC pl.21a.

909. Marangou 141 and n.802 notes the great dependence of a bone seal from Orthia (her no.80) on Protodedalic terracottas.

910. Jenkins I.69-71, 79, pl.8.1-5, 7; II.27-33, pl.2.3-4; Higgins, Catalogue (n.868) 281, no.1024, pl.142. Kaulen 30-1, 97 believes Dedalica pl.2.3 (his T23) is "Early Archaic", i.e. sixth-century; this is patently false, but see Meola 43 n.121 for comments on the validity of the U-shaped facial outline as a stylistic criterion.

911. AO pl.30.7 = Müller, FPGV fig.321 = Jenkins I, pl.8.7 = Matz, GGK 164, pl.72b = Marangou fig.107 (our FIG.87, broken off at the neck, appears to be from the same mould). The inclusion of this illustration in Marangou seems to have been an afterthought, for no page-references are given on 330 and the reference to Jenkins I is false: see Marangou 23 and n.112; 144 and n.814; 159 and n.897; 160 and n.898 (dated c.650); 161 and n.903.

912. AO 154, fig.109: Marangou 29 and nn.164-5 (early 660's); 147 and n. 837 (compared to ivory couple no.85).

913. Full discussion in vii(a) 1.

914. BSA xiv.61, C.III, fig.5a-d; AO 153, Type Xb, pl.38.1-4. The example singled out by Jenkins I.71, pl.9.1 is BSA xiv, fig.5b; AO pl.38.2.

915. Kaulen 29-30 noted the omission from Dedalica, but was not apparently aware of the reference in Jenkins I; K. distributes the five illustrated examples among four of his stylistic phases, the earliest in his (unconvincing) view being "Late Geometric" (T1: AO pl.38.1). They are undoubtedly all seventh-century, probably "Subgeometric" in most cases.

916. On the other hand, it clearly has some Lakonian Dedalic features, such as the long nose and blob eyes picked out in black paint.

917. BSA xv.121, no.34, fig.3 (found with "Laconian II"): Jenkins I.71-2; II. 17 n.3; ibid., Perachora i.232.

918. Cf. Jenkins II, pl.3.4 (probably Aiginetan). Alternatively, the gesture is that of "Zopffassen": cf. n.847.

919. Higgins, Catalogue 282, no.1026, pl.142; ibid., Greek Terracottas 51, pl. 21B. Catalogue no.1027 is from the same mould. Higgins aptly notes: "It differs from all other Laconian terracotta types in forming a narrow rectangle, and in its greater thickness". In other words, it provides a hint of the kind of tendency, which elsewhere led to monumental stone sculpture, but which in Lakonia stopped short at the Mistra relief and perhaps other perirrhanteria (vii(a) 1).

920. Jenkins I.72-3, pl.9.2-6; II.33-41, pl.4.1,2,8. Marangou 142 and n.805 links I, pl.9.5 with her bone seal no.77.

921. BSA xxix.103, fig.10.1; Jenkins I.72, pl.9.6; II.33,37,63, pl.4.8; Kaulen 30 (T21). There has been some dispute over the date: Woodward, BSA xxix. 101-2 thought it late seventh-/early sixth-century; Matz, Gnomon xiii.402 put it as low as the second quarter of the sixth century, contemporary with the Kalydon sphinx. However, Marangou 59 and n.337 is surely right to see an affinity with an ivory head between two horse protomes (her no.28) and Jenkins' attribution can stand. This is a "vase made into a head": see n.887.

922. On the sub-phase generally, Jenkins II.41-5, pl.5. For the limestone "Lady of Auxerre", see Davaras 55, no.22 ("Ripe Dedalic II"); the attribution to Lakonia by A. M. Woodward, Journal des Savants 1927, 221 (cf. BSA xxvi.271) is not cogent. Boardman, Pre-Classical (1967) 97-8 describes it as a "statuette" and in his Ill. 56 underlines the difference in scale of the truly monumental marble dedication by Nikandre on Delos; he also downdates the Auxerre figure to c.625.

923. E.g. Jenkins I.73-4, pl.10.1, 3-5; II, pl.5.4-5; Amandry 322ff., fig.13, pl.37.2a,b (three probably from same mould: one at Delphi, one from Spartan Akropolis, one from Orthia). Marangou 138 and n. 778, 139 and n.784 specifically compares Jenkins I, pl.10.5 to the ivory head no.73 and the trapezoidal seal no.74.

924. Apart from the "Lady of Auxerre" (whose head is Jenkins I, pl.10.2), cf. Jenkins II, pl.5.3. Payne, NC 233 n.2. thought Sparta and Crete indistinguishable, but see Amandry 323 n.2. Taras, where Lakonian parallels might be expected, is rather an unknown quantity at this time: but see H. Herdejürgen, Die tarentinische Terrakotten des 6. bis 4. Jht. v. Chr. in Antikenmuseum Basel (1971) 1 nn.1-3; Higgins, Atti del 10° Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (1970, published 1971) i.267-81, at 268, with pl.42.1.

925. Jenkins II.66 n.11 thought BSA xxix.85, fig.5.35 was a Cretan import; contra Kaulen 29, 185 n.34 (T5); cf. Marangou n.816. Going the other way the bone figurine (n.846) is the only piece that comes to mind - no Lakonian Dedalic terracottas were exported to Crete, or indeed anywhere apart from Tegea(?) and Delphi (n.923); cf. Meola 43 n.119; 62-3.

926. Jenkins took it as an article of faith that moulds were non-transferable, but see D. Ohly, AM lxv (1940) 68 n.2; and cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, AJA xliii (1939) 669-71 (mould for bronze).

927. Boardman, CCO 153-4 had the temerity to suggest that Cretan art of the second quarter of the seventh century might have been influenced by Spartan Dedalic terracottas, but the "Pankretist" Davaras will have none of it and in 46 n.303 invokes the great names in support of the opposite hypothesis. The literary evidence (Charmidas, Lykurgos and Thaletas: Davaras n.302; Diktynna: Paus. iii.12.7, 14. 2; Ino-Pasiphaë: I.vi, no.54) is hardly conclusive either way.

928. Jenkins I.73-4, pl.10.6; II.45, pl.5.6.

929. Bibliography on the metope in Wallenstein, op.cit. (n.879) 104, II/ B 10.

930. Jenkins II.45-51, pl.6 (quotation on 45).

931. AO pls.28.6 (FIG.90b), 29.7; Jenkins I.74, pls.10.7-8; 11.1 (FIG.91); Jenkins II.49, pl.6.5.

932. AO 68, fig.41C (!), pl.28.5; Kunze, Gnomon ix.5; Lane, LVP 118, pl. 31f; Jenkins I.74, fig.1; Amandry 323, fig.11, 325 n.2: cf. n.486. (I too was unable to locate the elements of AO fig.43 in the Sparta Museum).

933. Jenkins I.77-9; II.59-65 (but note Matz, Gnomon xiii.406-7); Kaulen 124-8; Meola 41-7.

934. Lane bears some responsibility of course for simply parroting Jenkins' date for the heads and ignoring the testimony of his own eyes.

935. See III.iii(e) and esp. n.389.

936. Bibliography in Wallenstein 98, II/A 1. On its role as a chronometer, Marangou 137-8 and n.772.

937. Matz, Gnomon xiii.406-7 dates Middle Dedalic c.665-640, but Rolley, FD 113 has argued that the bronze kouros from Delphi (Jenkins II, pl.6.2: Middle Dedalic III, 640-30; Davaras 54, no.21: Ripe Dedalic I) belongs c.630-20 and that, whatever view one takes of the date of the founding of Selinus, Jenkins' chronology must be appreciably lowered.

938. AO 154, pl.39.3: described there as a sphinx, followed by e.g. Marangou n.753. For the identification as a lion, see Kunze, Gnomon ix.10; for the date, Boardman, AOC 6.

939. Sparta 1720: BSA xv.117, fig.2.9; Payne, NC 170, fig.72; W. L. Brown, The Etruscan Lion (1960) 3,(d); Dörig, AM lxxvi (1961) 69, Beil.44; Gabelmann, op.cit. (n.824) 17,20,23,27,29,30,36,111, no.7, pl.2.3-6; Marangou 118 and nn.685-6, 119 and n.695.

940. Architectural stonework, such as it is, is considered in Appendix X.

941. Jenkins came across it in the museum at Mistra, but Mistra, if inhabited at all, was not important enough to house a work of this nature. The true provenience was probably Sparta - or perhaps Amyklai: cf. the fragmentary Doric capital from the Amyklaion recently recognised among the Byzantine objects at Mistra: AAA i (1968) 42-3.

942. Literary evidence, L. Ziehen, RE, s.v. Recent examinations of Archaic perirrhanteria, J. Ducat, BCH lxxxviii (1964) 577-606 (but cf. n.944); F.W. Hamdorf, AM lxxxix (1974) 47-64.

943. G. Treu, Olympia iii.26-9, pl.5; Buschor-von Massow, VA 17; Jenkins, Dedalica 73; Matz, GGK 196-7, pl.246a; *Ducat 591-4, no.5, fig.15; Gabelmann 17, 18, 28, 112, no.9 (third quarter of the seventh century); Boardman, JdI lxxxi (1966) 45 n.29. For the provenience of the marble, see Appendix II.n.3.

943. Delivorrias, AAA ii (1969) 7-10 publishes Sparta 1423 (late seventh century: FIG.93) and adds Buschor-von Massow, VA 17,34, Beil.7 (Sparta 2629); and AO 388, fig.147 = Th. Karageorgha, AD xix.1 (1964) 121, no.28. Also Archaic are AO 353-4, nos.136-8 (inscribed rims), AO 388 (three more fragments); cf. BCH lxxxv (1961) 685 and fig.5 (terracotta example from Amyklai). Note also dedications from the Hyperteleaton (I.vi, no.99): Jeffery, LSAG 194-5, 201, no.43; IG v.1.981. Gabelmann 28-30 assigns Ducat nos.1,5 (see n.943), 2 and 3 (his nos.8-11: from Samos, Olympia, Isthmia and Kameiros) to Lakonia, but Ducat apparently favours Samos; Hamdorf is less unitarian. The earliest literary reference (Hdt. i.51.3) has an ironical Spartan connection.

945. Cf. nn.622, 919, 922.

946. JdI lxxxi.1-23, 62 (87 in all); for the group as a whole, op.cit. 23-62.

947. As our iv(b) 6.A.1-2.

948. References collected under Dunbabin, Perachora ii.528, F29; Blinkenberg, Lindos i.94, no.151. At Orthia with "Geometric" alone; cf. I. Dhekoulakou, AE 1973, 23, no.11 (Achaia, also in a Geometric context).

949. Perachora ii.529, G11. Sometimes with "Laconian I" at Orthia.

950. On the material, see T. G. H. James in Perachora ii.461 n.2, 466-7 ("fine composition").

951. FIGS.94-6 (Akropolis 2457).

952. BSA xv.141, pl.8; Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca 48.

953. Snodgrass, DAG 116-7, 345.

954. James in Perachora ii.461-4 destroys several cherished myths. The Rhodian hypothesis is due to F. W. von Bissing, Zeit und Herkunft der in Cerveteri gefundenen Gefässe aus ägyptischer Fayence und glasiertem Ton (1941) esp. 81 (faience vases, as AO 385-6, pls.206. 14; 207: found with "Geometric, PC and Laconian I"; cf. von Bissing 55ff., pls.5-6; 72ff. - after 700, usually late in the seventh century).

955. Strong = D. E. Strong, Catalogue of the Carved Amber in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum (1966).

956. J. M. Riddle, "Amber: an historical-etymological problem", Fest. W. E. Caldwell (1964) 110-20 is the fullest study of the literary evidence.

957. Strong 1-2. The natural deposits of "Baltic" amber extend considerably inland from the Baltic Sea, but the Samland peninsula near the Eastern Baltic is still the most productive area: C. W. Beck, Archaeology xxiii (1970) 8, fig.2.

958. Analysis by the "succinic acid test" (not conclusive): Beck et al., Archaeometry viii (1965) 96-109; GRBS ix (1968) 5-19; Beck, Archaeology xxiii. 7-11. Analysis by computer classification of infrared spectra (conclusive): Beck et al. in R. H. Brill, ed., Science and Archaeology (1971) 235-40. See generally R. C. A. Rottländer, Archaeometry xii (1970) 35-51.

959. Bronze Age finds (Strong 16-21) include Vaphio (no.7), Pellana (no.69) and Analipsis (no.72); cf. Bouzek, HG 83, fig.30 (useful map).

960. Snodgrass, PPS xxxi (1965) 229-40, esp. 238 n.1; DAG 243, 248, 267, 270, 290 n.34, 333, 342. On the trade-routes, see J. M. de Navarro, Geographical Journal lxvi (1925) 481-507; A. Spekke, The Ancient Amber Routes (1957) esp. ch.3; J. Jensen, Acta Archaeologica xxxvi (1965) 43-86; T. Malinowski, Prähistorische Zeitschrift xlvi (1971) 102-10.

961. For the comparative evidence, see most conveniently Dunbabin, Perachora ii. 520-5; Strong 23; Herrmann, Germania xliv (1966) 90 n.54.

962. v(a) 2-3. Add perhaps horse B.33 (eyes).

963. iv(b) 7.F.1-6.

963a. These independent carvings are omitted by both Robertson, BSA xliii (1948) 117 and Herrmann, Germania xliv.91 n.55. I see no reason to regard them as Italian imports.

964. Strong 10-12.

965. The most important studies are listed in II.n.404.

966. Ephoros (F 216) may have been the first to write in terms of more than one original war of conquest, but Aristotle (Pol. $1306^{b}38$) still uses the singular form. Historically, the latter is perhaps less misleading. Pausanias' explanation of the expression (iv.6.1) is laughable.

967. Bibliography on Tyrtaios in II.nn.423, 425; for the view that he is the only real source, Tigerstedt, LSCA 347 n.306.

968. Against the notion that the earlier history of Messenia was created ex nihilo after 369, see L. R. Shero, "Aristomenes the Messenian", TAPA lxix (1938) 500-31, esp. 504, 511; cf. P. Treves, JHS lxiv (1944) 102-4, who stresses the importance of Euripides' Kresphontes (on which, see now O. Musso, "Per la ricostruzione del 'Cresfonte' euripideo", Dioniso xliv (1970) 64-71). Generally apposite is C. M. Bowra, "The Meaning of a Heroic Age" (1957), reprinted in Kirk, LBH 22-47, esp. 45. Diaspora Messenians: Müller, Dorians^{2} i.158; add now Hesperia xxii (1953) 288, Stele X.9, with Hesperia xxv.276-81 (a Messenian slave at Athens by 414); on those settled at Naupaktos, Meiggs-Lewis, GHI no.74. See also n.995.

969. For the pre-Roman Conquest history of Free Messene, see C. A. Roebuck, A History of Messenia from 369 to 146 B.C. (Diss. Chicago, 1941); for the archaeological bibliography, E. Meyer, Der Kleine Pauly iii (1969) s.v. "Messene (2)" (excavation is still in progress). The modern literature on the value of the tradition is assembled in L. Pearson, "The Pseudo-History of Messenia and its Authors", Historia xi (1962) 397-426, at 397-8 n.2. On Pausanias' Messeniaka, see B. G. Niebuhr, Historische und Philologische Vorträge ii.1 (1847) 316ff.; E. Schwartz, Philologus xcii (1937) 19-46; and see nn.975, 1041.

970. The title "External Relations" is borrowed from Snodgrass, DAG ch. 6; behind my account lie the principles of method enumerated by him on pp.296-9. Tigerstedt, LSCA 342 n.269 gives the basic ancient and modern bibliography on the war; add now Toynbee, SPGH 163ff., 180ff.; Oliva, SSP 102-14; Forrest, HS chs.4 and 6 (briefer but more illuminating).

971. See II.n.463. The alphabet (II.n.386) was perhaps introduced to Lakonia from Delphi: Jeffery, LSAG 42, 184-5 (her alternative suggestion, Rhodes, has no archaeological support before the end of the eighth century).

972. On the quoit of Iphitos and the Olympic truce (trad. 776), see the works cited in Bengtson, GG[4] 88-9 n.2; add now Hönle, OPGS 7-13 (for relations between Sparta and the oracle of Zeus, see my comments on Hönle in n.585); cf. also II.n.460. The alphabet may have been transmitted to Olympia from Lakonia: Jeffery, LSAG 185.

973. See briefly III.iii(e) (pottery); iv(b) 1.E, third paragraph (bronzes).

974. See II.n.557 (with further cross-references).

975. Myron is F.Gr.Hist. 106: see now briefly H. von Geisau, Der Kleine Pauly iii, s.v. Of the recent studies, see esp. Pearson, op.cit. (n.969) 410ff.; his remarks on Quellenkritik (425 n.62) are refreshing.

976. Claim and counter-claim centred on alleged incidents at the border-sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis in the Dentheliatis (I.vi, no.66) involving the Agiad king Teleklos (reigned c.760-40, according to Forrest, HS 21).

977. This line of approach can of course lead in different directions! For example, I am not impressed by the attempt of Forrest, HS 35-6 to place the "First" Messenian War in the general context of the "Lelantine War"; cf. ibid. Historia vi (1957) 160-75, esp. 162. I cannot give the reasons for my doubts about the "Lelantine War" in detail here, but far too much reliance is placed on a single sentence (usually mistranslated) in the "Archaeology" of Thucydides (i.15.3); and the Messenian War does not fit easily or naturally into a war supposedly involving Aegean naval powers. For recent work on the "Lelantine War", see Cl. Bérard, Eretria iii (1970) 68 n.27; de Ste. Croix, OPW 219 n.21.

978. It is now recognised that the motivation behind the Euboean and Corinthian enterprises differed in important respects. On the "proto-" or "early colonial" (sc.Euboean) phase of western emigration, see Dialoghi di Archeologia iii (1969) 1-234 (esp. the comments of Boardman, 156-9): D. W. Ridgway, "The First Western Greeks: Campanian Coasts and Southern Etruria" in C.F.C. and S. Hawkes, edd., Greeks, Celts and Romans (1973) 5-38. On the later (sc. Corinthian) phase, see n.1029.

979. Pausanias (iv.5.10) used a source who dated by Olympiads and gave 743 as the date of the initial invasion; the modern hypothesis, also based primarily on the names (and nationalities) of Olympic victors, puts it at c.735: Brinkmann, op.cit. (II.n.460) 632; but see B. Niese, "Die älteste Geschichte Messeniens", Hermes xxvi (1891) 31-2. The foundation of Taras (trad.706: see n.1020) provides a rough terminus ante quem.

980. On the crucial distinction between "relative" and "absolute" over-population, see H. Bolkestein, Klio xiii (1913) 432ff. On the number of Spartans at this time, see n.996.

981. It is perhaps implied in the eccentric apophthegm attributed to the Agiad king Polydoros (Plut., Mor. 231E (2)), which may as Vitalis, op.cit. (II.n.521) 53 believed, go back to Kinaithon (on whom, see II.n.420).

982. On perioikic status, see II.n.555; for archaeologically attested perioikic settlement in this period, see ILL.III.4.

983. For example, trade in wheat with the northern shore of the Black Sea probably did not begin before the end of the sixth century: T. S. Noonan, AJP xciv (1973) 231-42.

984. On the questions raised in this paragraph, see generally A. B. Wolfe, "The Economics of Population in Ancient Greece", Facts and Factors in Economic History: Articles by former students of E. F. Gay (1932) 18-39 (vitiated by anachronistic concepts); S. C. Humphreys, "Town and Country in Ancient Greece" in P. J. Ucko et al., edd., Man, Settlement and Urbanism (1972) 763-8.

985. Hesiod apparently attests the regular employment of (chattel?) slaves in Boeotian agriculture by c.700: G. Nussbaum, CQ n.s. x (1960) 213-20, at 215-9.

986. The quotation is from Tyrtaios (fr. 5.3 West); other sources indicating the great fertility of Messenia are listed in Roebuck, CPh xl (1945) 150-1 nn.17-9. For the scientific details, see McDonald-Rapp, MME chs.3 and 11. Thin population: MME 144, 146 (but the archaeological evidence should not be pressed). Political heterogeneity seems certain, but the precise nature of the ethnic composition - or rather the extent to which Messenia had been "Dorised" before the Spartan conquest - is indeterminable: Niese, op.cit. (n.979) 23 n.1; U. Wilcken, Griechische Geschichte [9] (1962) 58; cf. contra the authors cited in Tigerstedt, LSCA 329-30 n.174. Too much weight should not be placed on the hymn to Delian Apollo written for the Messenians by the Corinthian Eumelos (II.n.421a): Bowra, CQ n.s. xiii (1963) 145-53; Kiechle, op.cit. (II.n.521) at 499-502.

987. Burn, LAG 75 correctly notes that such strategic advantage as it offered lay on Sparta's side, but omits to give the other half of the picture, for which see Appendix I.H.

988. Indeed, Kiechle, MS 1 justly compares the British treatment of Ireland!

989. For the route of invasion, see Appendix I.H.i(a)-(b); the fort at Ampheia (Paus. iv.5.9) is perhaps to be identified with Kokkala: MME 97 n.84. The concentration on Stenyklaros: Kiechle, MS 65-71; but this is not supported by the archaeological evidence (such as it is): MME 144.

990. The figure is suspect as being twice the length of the Trojan War.

991. On tactics, see further Appendix XII; Spartan ineptitude in sieges (more noticeable in the fifth century: Thuc. i.102.2): A. Aymard, Etudes d'Histoire Ancienne (1967) 476. The Cretan mercenary archers supposedly hired by Sparta (Paus. iv.8.3, 12; 10.1) are omitted by H. W. Parke, Greek Mercenary Soldiers (1933, 1970), but see Aymard, op.cit. 489-90. I suspect they belong to the "Cretanising" aspect of the mirage: cf. n.1019.

992. MME 238 (now on display in the new Benaki Museum in Kalamata): dated c.725. The cremated remains, together with pots and bronze bowls, were placed in a large pithos, around whose neck was wrapped the warrior's "killed" iron sword. The pots were locally produced under Argive and perhaps Lakonian influence (information from J. N. Coldstream).

993. For the "totemic" associations, see Apollodoros, Bibl. ii.8.4.

994. I assume that the subject of the fragment is the Messenians; cf. Aelian, V.H. vi.1. Pace Kiechle, MS 56ff., I should certainly describe these métayers as Helots, but these passages should not be simply combined with the absolute figures in Plut., Lyk. xii (required contribution to syssition: on syssitia, see Appendix XII. n.62).

995. Messenians at Zankle (Paus.iv.23.6ff. is very confused): P. B. Schmid, Studien zur griechischen Ktisissagen (1947) 126-8; G. Vallet, Rhégion et Zankle (1958) 66-81, esp. 71-8; Kiechle, MS 3-9; L. Gierth, Griechische Gründungsgeschichte als Zeugnisse historische Denkens vor dem Einsetze der Geschichtsschreibung (Diss. Freiburg, 1971) 70-6.

996. Forrest, HS 38. The figure of 9000 (Plut., Lyk. viii.5-6) may be just a retrojection of the proposal of King Agis IV (Plut., Agis viii); for other figures for early Sparta, see II.n.544. Ancient demographic data are generally unreliable: D. Hume, "On the Populousness of Ancient Nations", Essays (World Classics ed., 1903) 381-451, esp. 418-9; but it is scarcely less hazardous to extrapolate from estimated grain-yields: Roebuck, op.cit.(n.986) 155-65. The figures in Ehrenberg, GS^2 31 (fifth to third century) are merely guesses; the most recent discussion is J. Chrétien, RD 1ii (1974) 202-9.

997. The excavators dated the rebuilding c.600, but Boardman's revised date (c.570/60) accords perfectly with Forrest's (HS 21) approximate chronology for the joint reign (c.575-60).

998. For the date, Boardman, AOC 7 (this rules out Kirsten's hypothesis: see n.89). For the architectural and spiritual aspects, see Appendix X.

999. On this kind of "giving for a return", see generally A. R. Hands, Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome (1968) ch.3, esp. 42-3.

1000. The point is made by Finley, The Ancient Economy (1973) 151.

1001. Snodgrass, PPS xxxi (1965) 236.

1002. A. Burford, "The Economics of Greek Temple Building", PCPS n.s. xi (1965) 30-4; The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros (1969) 33ff., 146-7, 199, 205.

1003. For a sketch of the economic and political condition of the Near East at this time, see Bengtson,GG^4 75-8; for barbarian Europe, Snodgrass, op.cit. (n.1001) 229-40.

1004. See III.iv(c), v and vii.

1005. The certain or probable proveniences include - in addition to the Peloponnese - Macedonia, central Greece, the islands, "East Greece", Phrygia, the "Near East" and Cyprus.

1006. III.iv(b) 6.A.1-3, with my remarks at the end of that segment.

1007. G. Dickins, JHS xxxii (1912) 19 n.106; de Ste. Croix, OPW, App.28; cf. n.830.

1008. See esp. III.iv(b)1.B.28; cf. nn.592,972.

1009. Renfrew, EC ch.3.

1010. Only one has been found in Messenia, dedicated presumably by a perioikos: III.iv(b)1.D.5. The Delphi find (a horse) is iv(b)1.B. 15. If a Lakonian type of bronze bird has been correctly identified, examples were distributed to Tiryns and Lousoi as well as Olympia: iv(b)4.B.1,3,5-9,16.

1011. If the report of "Geometric" pottery refers to LG, then the sanctuary of Alexandra/Kassandra(?) at Amyklai may be another case in point: for the sanctuary, see I.n.402; for the pottery, III.n.107.

1012. On Helen's cult at Therapne (Hdt. vi.61.3; Isokrates, Hel. 63; Paus. iii. 19.9) and Sparta (Theokritos xviii.39ff.), see Wide, LK 340-6; Helen as faded goddess: Wilamowitz, Der Glaube der Hellenen i (1931) 226 n.1; but see II.n.336. Dioskouroi in Lakonia: Wide, LK 304-25; as house-spirits, originally of the Spartan kings (hence twins), Nilsson, GGR i.408-10 (citing the archaeological evidence).

1013. See briefly H. von Geisau, Der Kleine Pauly iii (1969) s.v. "Menelaos (1)"; cf. II.n.513. It is doubtful whether Spartan poets contributed to the denigration of his character that began with the poets of the Cycle (on which, see II.n.419a) and culminated in Euripides' Orestes, but see n.1016.

1014. See Appendix IX n.14.

1015. J. M. Cook, "The Cult of Agamemnon at Mycenae", Geras A. Keramopoullou (1953) 112-8; Cl. Bérard, Eretria iii (1970) esp. ch.6. But Menelaos and Helen were worshipped as gods, according to Isokrates.

1016. J. N. Coldstream, Praktika tou prōtou diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou i (1972) 15-22, esp. 21 n.7; Th. Hadzisteliou-Price, "Hero Cult and Homer", Historia xxii (1973) 129-44. The Menelaion, incidentally, is the only archaeological support for the story that Lykurgos brought the Homeric poems to the mainland (II.n.419a)! More seriously, Homeric (and indeed all epic) scenes are conspicuous by their absence from the iconographical repertoire of seventh-century Lakonian artists: see only the few cited in T. J. Dunbabin, The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours (1957) 80-7. In fact, the language of Tyrtaios (II.n.423) is almost the only sure sign of early Spartan familiarity with Homer.

1017. There had been a Mycenaean settlement at Therapne, but few if any remains can have been visible by the late eighth century. Nor can there have been continuity of memory. So the date at which Therapne acquired legendary associations is problematic: cf. I.n. 382; II.n.419a (Huxley). The only Lakonian LG pot so far found in Messenia was part of an offering in a Mycenaean chamber-tomb near Pylos: III.n.120; cf. Sp. Marinatos, Das Altertum i (1955) 147ff., esp. 154. Other Messenian examples at Koukounara and Nichoria: MME 144.

1018. On the type of cult, see L. R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cult and Ideas of Immortality (1921) esp. ch.11 (epic heroes); A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes", HThR xxxvii (1944) 141-73, reprinted in his Selected Essays ii (ed. Z. Stewart, 1972) 575-602; Kirk, Myth 175ff.

1019. On the meaning of apoikia (the unavoidable "colony" is a mistranslation), see E. Blumenthal, Die altgriechische Siedlungskolonisation im Mittelmeerraum (1963) 15-22. By the fifth century several poleis were pleased to think of Sparta as their founder: Thera (Hdt.iv.145ff.; cf. Tigerstedt, LSCA 340-1 nn.260, 262-4); Melos (Thuc. v.84.2, 89, 112.2); Knidos (Hdt. i. 174.2); and Kythera (Thuc. vii.57.6). Apart perhaps from the last, these are really "Ereignisse im Verfolg der Wanderungen, nicht etwa eigentliche Kolonien des fertigen Sparta": Ehrenberg, RE IIIA.1378; cf. II.n. 363. For these and other (esp. Cretan) "colonies" of Sparta, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 341 n.265.

1020. The date is that of Eusebius (Jerome), ed. Helm p.91, Schöne p.85. For the archaeological evidence, see III.iii(e) and n.391.

1021. Modern works (esp. P. Wuilleumier) and main literary sources in Tigerstedt, LSCA 340 n.261; add Schmid, op.cit. (n.995) 126-8; S. Pembroke, "Fondations de Locres et Tarente", Annales (ESC) xxv (1970) 1240-67; and cf. generally Gierth, op.cit. (n.995). For Spartan interest in this kind of tale, see II.n.451.

1022. On their possible identity, see (c) and n.1076.

1023. Foundations "from below" (private enterprises): A. J. Graham, Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece (1964) 7-8 (Taras, mentioned on p.7, is excluded from this group). Phalanthos: J. Bérard, La Colonisation Grecque de l'Italie Méridionale^2 (1957) 170-2; L. Lacroix, Monnaies et Colonisation dans l'Occident Grec (1965) 90; H. A. Geagan, AA 1970, 44-6, 48, no.16, fig.16a (possible representation on a plaque from Pendeskouphia); Pembroke, op.cit. (n.1021) 1259-65.

1024. The ancient literary evidence and basic modern bibliography are most usefully assembled by K.-D. Fabian, Der Kleine Pauly, s.v. "Tarentum" (1974).

1025. Literary evidence: E. Wiken, Die Kunde von dem Lande und den Völkern des Apenninischen Halbinsel bis 300 v. Chr. (Diss. Lund, 1937) 55-7. Archaeological evidence: "Metropolie e Colonie", Atti del 3° Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (1962, published 1963) 149-68; "Le genti non-greche della Magna Grecia", Atti del 11° Convegno (1971, unpublished: summary in SMEA xv (1972) 212-3).

1026. D. H. Trump, Central and Southern Italy before Rome (1966) 122-7, 134-5, 152, fig.39. This had been a Mycenaean emporium: II.n.294.

1027. Parke-Wormell, DO^2 i.71-3; J. Defradas, Les Thèmes de la Propagande Delphique^2 (1972) 237 n.1 (but I do not believe in the Cretan settlers). For the Lakonian LG sherds at Satyrion, see III.n.122; map of LG in Sicily and S. Italy: Bouzek, HG 173, fig.68.

1028. Generally J. Seibert, Metropolis und Apoikie (Diss. Würzburg, 1963) 99-102; but cf. Graham, op.cit. (n.1023) 145-6. Language and script: Jeffery, LSAG 279-84. Religion: G. Giannelli, Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia^2 (1963) 15-46, 241-6; Kurtz-Boardman, GBC 308-9. Archaeology: P. Pelagatti, Annuario n.s. xvii-xviii (1955-6) 7-44 (imported Lakonian pottery); Higgins and Herdejürgen, loc.citt. (n.924); B. Ashmole, PBA xx (1934) 11 (architecture); U. Jantzen, Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien (1937) 26-46, esp. 28; etc. There is a full bibliography of finds in Taranto up to 1939 in Berard, op.cit. (n.1023) (1st ed., 1941) Part II.104-10; the more recent finds are surveyed in the Atti (n.1025, from 1961) s.v. "La Documentazione archeologica in Puglia".

1029. The bibliography is huge but conveniently resumed in Bengtson, GG[4] 88-127; add now Graham, "Patterns in Early Greek Colonisation", JHS xci (1971) 35-47; M. Austin-P. Vidal-Naquet, Economies et Sociétés en Grèce ancienne[2] (1972) 78-87; and specifically on the west, J.-P. Morel, MEFR lxxxiv.1 (1972) 721-33. See also n.978.

1030. Geography and topography: I.ii(b) and n.31; iii and n.62; vi§8, nos. 76-9. "Geometric" at Helleniko (no.76) and Chersonisi (no.79): ILL. III.4.

1031. I.ii(a) and n.12.

1032. On the alleged early wars led by Spartan kings against Arkadia (Eurypontids) and Argos (Agiads), see M. Duncker, History of Greece i (1883) 355-6. G. L. Huxley, BCH lxxxii (1958) 588ff. correctly assumes that Sparta would only be fighting in Messenia when she was not fighting Argos (and vice versa), but his article is vitiated overall by his fundamentalist approach to Pausanias.

1033. Might of Argos: Coldstream, GGP 362-4; R. A. Tomlinson, Argos and the Argolid (1972) ch.6. Busolt, GG i.[2] 595-6, however, denied the historicity of the conflict mentioned in Paus. iii.7.5.

1034. On the continued disputes, see I.n.568.

1035. An event of which modern scholars have made much (too much, in my view) is the help given to Asine by Sparta (Paus. ii.28.2; iii.7.4; iv.24.4; 34.9): see I.vi.§6, no.47A, for the modern references.

1036. Literary references and identification of the site (near Achladokambos), Bölte, RE s.v.

1037. The answer is a little more straightforward for those who believe that Pheidon of Argos reigned in the first half of the seventh century: see e.g. A. Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants (1956) 39-43; Tomlinson, op.cit. (n. 1033) ch.7. But the literary evidence if anything favours a mid-eighth century dating and no source associates Pheidon with Hysiai: M. Mitsos, Argoliki Prosopographia (1952) s.v.; M. Wörrle, Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Argos im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus (Diss. Erlangen, 1964) 86-7 n.35.

1038. Gymnopaidiai date: Eusebius (ed. Schöne, p.86). Nature of festival: Bölte, Rh.Mus. n.f. lxxviii (1929) 124-43, at 124-30. Origin: Wade-Gery, CQ xliii (1949) 79-81; cf. Andrewes in Gomme, HCT iv.150 (public funeral at Athens perhaps instituted after the disaster at Drabeskos in 465/4).

1039. E.g. Forrest, HS 69.

1040. Shero, op.cit. (n.968): the ancient sources are listed on p.501; A. Brelich, Gli Eroi Greci (1958) 316ff.; Kiechle, MS 72ff., 86ff. L. Keimer, "Le potier grec Mnésiadès", ASAE 1i (1951) 573-6 has identified the Messenian on an Attic b.f. fragment; but see J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters(1956) 314 (kalos-name?).

1041. Pausanias (iv.6.1,3) apparently drew heavily on the third-century Cretan epic poet Rhianos of Bene (F.Gr.Hist. 265); two new fragments assigned to Rhianos' Messeniaka are P.Oxy.2883. Paus. iv. 15.2 has given rise to the tiresome "Rhianos-hypothesis" (sc. that Rhianos wrote about a Messenian revolt of c.490: see now Meiggs-Lewis, GHI no.22); but see Wade-Gery, Fest. V. Ehrenberg (1966) 289-302.

1042. On the chronology, see Kiechle, MS 90ff. The lower dating is perhaps supported by the fact that the king in whose reign the revolt occurred

(Anaxandros: Paus. iv.15.3; c.640-15?) was the sixth generation from Xerxes' invasion: Burn, LAG 182. Tyrtaios' πατέρων πατέρες (fr.5.6) is imprecise and means only at least two generations: Wade-Gery, EGH 55 n.3.

1043. Tyrtaios fr.9 West; cf. 23.5(?).

1044. Spartans as hoplites: Appendix XII.

1045. Strabo viii.4.10,p.362 (Kramer suggested "Arkades" for "Ēleious"); Paus.iv.15.7.

1046. Corinth and Lepreon: Paus.iv.15.8; cf. v.5.3-6 (Lepreon); for the view that Sparta "colonised" Triphylia after the "First" Messenian War, see Dickins, JHS xxxii.11. Samos: Hdt. iii.47.1 (more likely to be in this than in the "First" war, pace Forrest, HS 36). One Subgeometric Lakonian amphora made its way to Samos (III.n.123), heralding the spate of imports (ivories (n.859) and bronzes as well as pottery) whose quantity and distribution on the island seem to demand some special explanation.

1047. F. Hiller von Gärtringen, Hira und Andania (1911); Kiechle, MS 79-81, 86-90. For the sites, see MME 94 (no.607) and 98 n.93 (no.611).

1048. Kiechle, MS 34-8; Huxley, ES 59-60. But see Forrest, HS 69.

1049. For the treaty, see I.n.45; the phrase in inverted commas is from G. B. Grundy, Thucydides and the History of his Age i^2 (1948) 219; cf. G. Devereux, "La Psychanalyse et l'histoire: une application à l'histoire de Sparte", Annales (ESC) xx (1965) 18-44; de Ste. Croix, OPW 89-94.

1050. See generally E. Bethe, Tausend Jahre altgriechischen Lebens (1933) 21-41; F. Stössl, Fest. E. Howald (1947) 92-114. It is difficult to know how far we may generalise from Alkman (on whom, see II.nn. 424, 426).

1051. Ps.-Plut., De Musica vi, ix, with commentary by F. Lasserre (1954); cf. Bowra, GLP^2 20ff. On Spartan music generally, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 336 n.219; on Terpander, Lasserre 27-9; U. Klein, Der Kleine Pauly (1974) s.v.; cf. II.n.460 (Karneia).

1052. Rawson, STET, Index s.v. "Austerity", "Trade and Industry, absence or restriction of".

1053. The first part of the title is borrowed from Snodgrass, DAG ch.7.

1054. Ehrenberg, FSTS^2 389.

1055. The earlier literature is assumbled in Busolt, GG i.^{2} 510-79; add G. Gilbert, The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens (1895). Recent discussion, stimulated by the British excavations, began with L. Pareti, Storia di Sparta arcaica i (1920). Subsequent studies are amassed in the notes to Oliva, SSP 71ff.

1056. Aristotle, Pol. 1274^a 29; but cf. Meyer, Forschungen zur alten Geschichte i (1892) 266, who speaks of that "grossly unhistorical theory which pervaded antiquity that a constitution arises at the legislator's will, conjured up from chaos or the void".

1057. M. I. Finley, The Ancestral Constitution (1971) 7-9. Strictly, there were no constitutions in our sense before Alexander's diatagmata. Cf. F. Millar, JRS lxiii (1973) 50, on the Roman Republic.

1058. Plut., Lyk. i makes the point, but nonetheless writes about Lykurgos' laws as if he had helped him to draw them up! Cf. n.1067.

1059. Forrest, HS 60. On the historicity of Lykurgos (as opposed to his nomoi), see Toynbee, SPGH 274-83; Oliva, SSP 63-70. If I were to assign him a human role, it would be that of potential tyrant (cf. Solon).

1060. Forrest, EGD 98-103, with special reference to Hdt. iii.80-2. On abstraction in language, see II.n.432.

1061. The "pudding"and "seesaw" metaphors are taken from F. W. Walbank, CR n.s. xix (1969) 314, reviewing Aalders, op.cit. (n.1062).

1062. G. J. D. Aalders, Die Theorie der gemischten Verfassung im Altertum (1968) 7-30 suggests it was the result of political practice coloured by Sophistic and perhaps Pythagorean thinking. Thuc. viii. 97.2 - if expressing a version of the theory - is by far the earliest source.

1063. Polybios: K. von Fritz, The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity (1954) esp. 96ff.; Walbank, "The Spartan Ancestral Constitution in Polybius", Fest. V. Ehrenberg (1966) 303-12; ibid., Polybius (1973) 131-8. Machiavelli: Rawson, STET 139ff., esp. 140; and cf. Rawson, Index s.v. "Mixed Constitution". Several Aristotelian passages are cited by de Ste. Croix, OPW 137 n.124; cf. Tigerstedt, LSCA 296-7.

1064. See now B. Shimron, Late Sparta: the Spartan Revolution 243-146 B.C. (1972): on the (Marxist) concept of class and class struggle, see my "Toward the Spartan Revolution", Arethusa (forthcoming).

1065. On Xenophon generally, see Ollier, MS i, ch.11; Tigerstedt, LSCA 159-79. On his dating of Lykurgos, II.n.546.

1066. Kakonomia, the opposite of eunomia, in this context means the absence of an agreed system of laws (lawlessness) rather than the existence of laws that are poorly framed: A. Andrewes, CQ xxxii (1938) 89-102,esp. 89-91; cf. V. Ehrenberg, Polis und Imperium (1965) 139-58.

1067. E. Kessler, Plutarchs Leben des Lykurgos (1910) 104-14 discusses P.'s sources. On P. as a biographer, see D. A. Russell, Plutarch (1972) ch.6; A. E. Wardman, Plutarch's Lives (1974).

1068. Ancient and modern Sparta-watchers have been inclined to emphasise the peculiarity of the parts at the expense of the whole. See rather M. I. Finley, "Sparta" in Vernant, PGGA 143-60, the best short account I know. C. Mossé, "Sparte Archaïque", PdP xxviii (1973) 7-20 is less helpful.

1069. See II.n.563.

1070. See briefly Kiechle, Der Kleine Pauly i (1964) s.v.; his LS, esp. 84-93, is an extreme example of perverse modern ingenuity. See rather Toynbee, JHS xxxiii (1913) 251-4.

1071. See Appendix XII and its n.88.

1072. On the Cretan mercenary archers, see n.991.

1073. I.v, introduction and n.195.

1074. See n.994.

1075. Kiechle, MS 63-4.

1076. Sources for the Partheniai: Kiechle, MS 8 n.3; discussion by Toynbee, SPGH 217-8; and esp. Pembroke, op.cit. (n.1021).

1077. Cf. Forrest, EGD chs.2-3 for a lively account of the process.

1078. See in this connection Ed. Will, REA lix (1957) 5-50, at 12-24; Ern. Will, REG lxxviii (1965) 542-56. For Hesiod's date, II.n.202.

1079. See II.n.564 and Appendix XII.

1080. Jacoby, F.Gr.Hist. IIIb Komm. (1955) 660-1; Toynbee, SPGH 222 n.3, 273 n.5. According to Forrest, HS 21, the joint reign lasted from c.700 to 675; cf. Burn, JHS lv (1935) 131 (dating of Theopompos).

1081. Plato, Laws 692A; Aristotle, Pol. $1313^{a}26$-8; Plut., Lyk. vii.1-2, xxix.6. Other attributions cited in Toynbee, SPGH 219 n.6.

1082. See most recently Oliva, SSP 123-31; for the ephor-lists, see II. n.461.

1083. E.g. Ehrenberg, FSTS^{2} 41-9 speaks of the "State of the Ephors"; on the other side, see de Ste. Croix, OPW esp. 125, 144-7, 148-9.

1084. Works cited in Oliva, SSP 131 n.1. There cannot have been much jurisdiction for anyone to exercise initially and this will have been conducted unofficially on the basis of auctoritas, esp. that of the kings; cf. the bitter complaints against aristocratic injustice made by Hesiod (WD 30-9, 202-18), discussed by Wade-Gery, EGH 10-14.

1085. For this point, see e.g. W. Norvin, Classica et Mediaevalia iii (1940) 105. The fact that there were ephors in perioikic poleis (Huxley, ES n.229) and in states with Spartan connections (Oliva, SSP 127 n.3) is chronologically ambiguous.

1086. See II.n.559.

1087. Ephors were elected "from all the damos" (Aristotle, Pol. $1265^{b}39$, $1270^{b}8$, $1272^{b}36$), but in Aristotle's view (Pol. $1270^{b}28$) the method of election was "excessively childish": see de Ste. Croix, OPW 130-1, 320-1; E. S. Staveley, Greek and Roman Voting and Elections (1972) 30ff. Cicero (De repub. ii.33.58) compared the ephors to the Roman tribuni plebis and it is of course tempting to see the introduction (or "politicising"?) of the ephorate in Roman terms.

1088. Regal bungling in Arkadia and a decisive change in foreign policy were the crucial factors in my view. The rise of the ephorate coincided with the development of what we call the "Peloponnesian League". The role of Chilon (ephor 556/5?: Diog. Laert. i.68) is uncertain: de Ste. Croix, OPW 143 and n.142; Oliva, SSP 133.

1089. K. Kinzl, Der Kleine Pauly iv (1972) s.v. (2); cf. Toynbee, SPGH 221; Oliva, SSP 101.

1090. Plut., Lyk. viii, with Kessler, op.cit.(n.1067) 38-41; cf. D. Asheri, Distribuzioni di Terre nell' antica Grecia (1966) 74-8. The idea of measuring out land-lots in newly acquired territory was not of course a Spartan invention, for it lay at the root of the colonisation movement; cf. S. Uggeri, PdP xxiv (1969) 57-71 (but the claim to have discovered traces of Archaic quadration at Metapontion is doubtful).

1091. I am thinking especially of Kypselos, but note the caution of Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants (1956) 46; cf. H. W. Pleket, "The Archaic Tyrannis", Talanta i (1969) 19-61, at 29, 35-6.

1092. See n.1037 for Pheidon's date; Appendix XII and its n.100 for his politico-military activity.

1093. Appendix XI and esp. its n.30.

1094. Appendix XII.

1095. Finley, op.cit. (n.1068) speaks compendiously of the "sixth-century revolution".

1096. Agōgē: Polybius i.32.1; Plut., Ages. i; full discussion in W. Den Boer, Laconian Studies (1954) Part III; cf. Marrou, HEA[6] ch.2. See also II.n.425. Corresponding reduction in emphasis on (though not hostility to) the family: W. K. Lacey, The Family in Classical Greece (1968) ch.8; Oliva, SSP 29-32. For the military aspects, Appendix XII.

1097. On the massive problems concerning the alienability or otherwise of klēroi and the types of land-tenure in Lakonia and Messenia, see esp. Walbank, HCP i.728-31; Oliva SSP 32-8. The most important texts are Aristotle, Pol. 1270[a]19ff.; fr.611 Rose; Polybius vi.45.3; Plut., Mor. 238E. On the question of alienability of land in Archaic Greece generally, see Finley, Eirene vii (1968) 25-32.

1098. See de Ste. Croix, OPW 432, Index s.v. "Sparta, assembly".

1099. The locus classicus is perhaps Herodotus vi.82.2; cf. II.n.463; Appendix III and its n.17.

1100. Rawson, STET ch.17.

1101. Liberté: Kritias fr.37 Diels-Kranz. Egalité: see n.1102. Fraternité: see n.1096.

1102. Finley, op.cit. (n.1068) 148. It is usually overlooked by modern scholars that "homoios" is ambiguous: it can mean "like in some respects" as well as "like in all respects", and not necessarily "exactly alike" in either case.

1103. Strictly, there was never a Spartan "economy" in the sense in which we now use that word: Finley, The Ancient Economy (1973) ch.1.

1104. For this aspect of the mirage, see n.1052.

1105. Oliva, SSP 100. I suspect that he is not entirely clear what he means by "economically advanced": on this, see now M. Austin-P. Vidal-Naquet, Economies et Sociétés en Grèce ancienne[2] (1972) chs. 1-4; cf. Appendix VII.

1106. Plut., Ages. xxvi.4-5; Mor.213F-214A (72); Polyainos ii.1.7.

1107. See generally Burford, CGRS Index, s.v. "Banausia complex", "Banausoi".

1108. See esp. Walbank, IX[e] Congrès International des Sciences Historiques (1950) i.Rapports 261-79; ii.Actes 126.

1109. H. Blümner, Die gewerbliche Thätigkeit der Völker des klassischen Altertums (1869) 79-83; but note the criticism of this work by Ed. Will, Annales (ESC) ix (1954) 11n.2.

1110. Jeffery, LSAG 187.

1111. Chr. Christou, AD xix.1 (1964) 123-63, 283-5. See also I.n.365.

1112. Jeffery, LSAG 194, 201, no.43 (from the Hyperteleaton) provides us with the tantalising information that a sculptor named Kyranaios was working in Lakonia at the highest level (royal patronage?) in the first quarter of the fifth century; cf. I.n.631. Note also Technarchos ("Master of Arts") from Amyklai: IG v.1. 823 (c.500 B.C.).

1113. Cf. Mossé, op.cit.(n.1068) 19 n.35. A legal ban is qualitatively different from informal disapprobation, however strong, and is particularly significant in a "shame culture" like that of Sparta. On Spartan oliganthropia, see now de Ste. Croix, OPW, Appendix 16.

NOTES to Appendix I

1. Euripides fr. 1083 (Nauck): συσείβολος πολεμίοις ; Xenophon, HG vi.5.24; Anth.Pal. vii.723.1.

2. In a brief but highly informative article J. Stevens Curl, Country Life 30/12/71, 1826-8, has discussed the siting and purposes of ancient British pathways. There were three basic types, with a number of variants: (1) ridgeways: long-distance paths over high ground for the transport of food, raw materials and finished products; (2) bridleways, essentially designed for horsemen; (3) driftways, suitable for driving cattle to a market-centre or a military encampment. Especially relevant to our discussion is the Pilgrim's Way in south-west England, which apart from its essentially religious significance acted in antiquity as a trade-route for Cornish tin and as a means of strategic communication. Also relevant is F. E. Lukermann, "Settlement and Circulation: Pattern and Systems" in McDonald-Rapp, MME ch.9.

3. W. A. McDonald, "Overland Communications in Greece during LH III," in E. L. Bennett, Jr., ed., Mycenaean Studies (Madison, 1964) 217-40. For the classical period, see Despotopoulos, Technika Chronika xvii (1940) 331-7.

4. One such exception will have been the "Sacred Way" between the Amyklaion and Sparta: see "Sparta - Amyklai" (D, below) with BCH lxxxvii (1963) 760, 764. E. Mure, Journal of a Tour in Greece ii (1842) 251, describes the ruts which were deliberately scooped out to form a "stone railway". Such ruts imply the existence of a recognised gauge, but there is insufficient evidence to prove or disprove it. (It would have been helpful if Philippson had measured all the "ancient" ruts he noted: see Peloponnes, Index s.v. "Wagengeleise, antike"). For a possible coincidence of gauge in the Helos Plain, see I vi.§ 4, s.v. "Ayios Stephanos" (no.33); for difficulties of measurement, Hope Simpson, BSA lxi (1966) 120-1.

5. R. J. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology ii (1955) 136, who cites the ancient evidence; cf. generally his Notes on the History of Ancient Roads and their Construction (1934).

6. Theophrastos (HP iii.16.3) records that the Lakonians made their wagons out of a species of oak.

7. W. Loring, JHS xv (1895) 41-6 and pl.1 (map); A. Andrewes in Gomme, HCT iv (1970) 91-2 and map facing p.34.

8. Lykomedes of Mantinea in 370/69 B.C.: D.S. xv.67.2.

9. Leake, Morea i.123 ff.; Loring, op.cit. 60-4; W. K. Pritchett, Studies in Ancient Greek Topography i (1965) 64 (section 3).

10. Xen., HG vi.5.25.

11. Most clearly seen on J. G. Frazer - A. W. Van Buren, Graecia Antiqua (1930) no.4.

12. Philippson, GL 467-8.

13. Thuc. v.64.3, with Andrewes in HCT iv.91.

14. Philippson, GL 471; Peloponnes 168.

15. GL 472.

16. GL 473-4.

17. BSA lvi (1961) 132.

18. Peloponnes 171.

19. GL 479; Peloponnes 182. See also I vi.§ 3, s.v. "Gouves" (no.24).

20. Leake, Morea i.157 and Peloponnesiaca (1846) 115ff. (ancient bridge); Bursian 130; Wyse, Excursion i (1848) 71, 106.

21. BSA xv.162; lv.85 n.73.

22. BSA xv.162; Philippson, Peloponnes 177 (ancient wheel-ruts south of Elika).

23. RE iiiA.1342-3.

24. This was followed by Pausanias (iii.20.3-7; 21.4ff.); BSA lv.82, no.6 (bridge).

25. The most recent discussion is by Hope Simpson, BSA lxi (1966) 125-6.

26. Bölte, RE iiiA. 1343-4; ibid., Verhandlungen der 51. Versammlung der deutschen Philologen und Schulmänner (Posen,1911) 74.

27. Andrewes in HCT iv.32, 92.

28. Etudes topographiques sur la Messénie ancienne (1930) 55 n.76; c.f. AH (1920 ed.), route 72B.

29. BSA lxi.126 and n.94 (ancient remains).

30. AJA lxviii (1964) 236, no.78C (surface finds).

31. This route is reckoned to take ten hours by pack-animal: AH (1920 ed.) route 74. It was first made generally known by E. Puillon Boblaye, Recherches géographiques sur les Ruines de Morée (Paris,1835) 83. It must always have been used by some Greeks at certain times of the year, but lack of (published) ancient remains at Trypi may be evidence that usage in antiquity was slight.

32. BSA lxi.119-21, fig.4. This is perhaps the likeliest candidate for the route supposedly taken by Telemachos in Od. iii.485; xv.282. W. McDonald in Mycenaean Studies 227 writes: "We are not yet willing to rule out the possibility that the Mycenaeans had a route for wheeled traffic over Taygetos to Sparta"; cf. ibid., AJA xlvi (1942) 542; L. Ross, Königsreisen ii.201 (ancient road up to Anavryti); P. L. Fermor, Mani 7ff. took the more difficult route, against local advice.

33. Philippson, Peloponnes 248; Chr. Tsountas, AE 1889, 132; H. A. Ormerod, BSA xvi.67.

34. McDonald in Mycenaean Studies, 227 (Mycenaean route); AJA lxxiii (1969) 158-9, no.78 (classical Thouria).

35. RE iiiA.1343 (the principal obstacle is the outlying ridges of Cape Kephali between Kitries and Kardamyle); Peloponnes 249 and BSA lii.232 (wheel-tracks between Koutiphari and Platsa); BSA lxi. 126n.189 (Leuktro); the Kardamyle tracks may be connected with the Taygetos route (H.ii.b). For the possibility of a Mycenaean road between Kalamata and Kardamyle (and beyond), see McDonald, Atti e Memorie del 1°Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia (Incunabula Graeca xxv, Rome,1969) 102.

36. P. Levi, trans., Pausanias ii (Penguin,1971)98 n.275.

1. The literary sources are assembled in RE iii A.1437. The earliest reference to Lakonian marble is in Strabo (viii.5.7, p.367), who provides the interesting information that metalla had been recently (turn of our era) opened up in Taygetos; metalla can only mean quarries in this context and may possibly be those at Kyprianon (no.49).

2. R. Lepsius, Griechische Marmorstudien (Berlin,1890) 34ff.

3. Lepsius 34ff., 112, 130; perhaps the source of Olympia iii.26ff., pl.5.4-5 (Karyatid): Lepsius 131, no.396 (further references in III. n.943).

4. For the difficulties involved in establishing beyond reasonable doubt the provenience of marble, see Washington, AJA ii (1898) 1-18; for a recent petrological study of the Doliana marble, see C. Renfrew - J. Springer Peacey, BSA lxiii (1968) 52. Despite the advances in techniques of analysis,doubt as to provenience is still reasonable in many cases: B. Ashmole, BSA lxv (1970) 1-2.

5. Philippson, GL 470. For possible use at Tyros, see I n. 578.

6. On this problem, see A. Burford, Econ. Hist. Rev.^{2} xiii (1960) 1-18; ibid., "The Economics of Greek Temple Building", PCPS 1965, 30; ibid., The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros (1969) 184ff.

7. Philippson, Peloponnes 160; GL 471.

8. Wace, SMC p.102.

9. Wace, Loc.cit. On quarrying techniques of the Archaic period, see S. Adam, The Technique of Greek Sculpture (BSA Supp. iii, 1966) 42-4, fig.5; and generally J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Quarrying in Antiquity: Technology, Tradition and Social Change", PBA lvii (1971) 137-58.

10. Rhomaios, Praktika for 1909, 295.

11. Peloponnes 218, 230; cf. Chrimes,AS 72.

12. See nn.1 and 19.

13. Detailed descriptions of the quarries, of the appearance and composition of the stone, and of the uses to which it was put may be found in Hope Simpson-Waterhouse, BSA lvi (1961) 119-121, fig.5; Hope-Simpson, BSA lxiii (1968) 333-5, fig.2. The list given in BSA lvi.121 n.45 has been supplemented and corrected by P. Warren, Minoan Stone Vases (Cambridge U.P.,1969) 126.

14. C. Bursian, Abh. bayer. Akad. vii (1855) 782-3.

15. Op.cit. 783.

16. GL 440; it comes from a nearby quarry and is shipped in blocks.

17. Hope Simpson, BSA lii (1957) 232-5; for Kardamyle, cf. ibid., BSA lxi (1966) 114.

18. AO 187-195; the carvings are of the first half of the sixth century B.C. Another type of limestone, favoured for building but also used for monumental carving (AO 387), is poros, which occurs in the plain of Leuke, on Kythera and elsewhere in Lakonia: see Peloponnes 408.

19. Hope Simpson, BSA lv (1960) 105-7; cf. Warren, op.cit. 132-3. For the literary references (all postdate our period) see H. Blümner, Technologie ... (Leipzig,1884) 21. It should be noted that a green marble occurs side by side with the red at Kyprianon.

20. This information was most kindly supplied by Dr. L. H. Jeffery. The inscription is published as IG v.1. 1455 and has been recently photographed in P.Giannokopoulos, To Gytheion (1966) fig.6. The latter's dating - beginning of the sixth century - seems much too early.

21. ESAG, no.401; it resembles that found on Thasos.

22. Our earliest positive literary evidence is that of the third century B.C. Daimachos in his Commentary on Siegecraft (F.Gr.Hist. 65 F4). The more important ancient sources have been collected by Neumann-Partsch, PGG 231-2, n.1. Of these especially noteworthy is Xenophon, HG iii.3.7, who provides evidence for the extensive use of iron in early fourth-century Sparta for daggers, swords, spits, adzes, axes and sickles. For the problematic iron spits, whose precise function in our period is still uncertain, see most recently M. Oikonomidhou, Athens Annals of Archaeology ii.3 (1969) 436-445; and further Appendix VII.

23. See I.vi.§1, s.v. "Melathria" (no.6), with n.393.

24. J. Friend, Iron in Antiquity (London,1926)80. The date at which Likhas was marvelling at the smithy in Tegea was c. 550 B.C. It is indeed just possible that there were no smiths, or at least no Spartan smiths, working in Sparta at this date: but see O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe (1935) 256 n.4. Ironworking is a field in which, it seems to me, a rigid division of labour between Spartans and perioikoi is to be expected.

25. Lakonian metallurgy in the Dark Age was indeed backward: see the chapter "Iron and other Metals" in Snodgrass, DAG 245-6. For a description of the techniques involved in iron-working, see H. H. Coghlan, Prehistoric Iron (Pitt Rivers O.P.T.8, Oxford,1956); and, more briefly, H. Hodges, Artifacts (London,1964) 80-90.

26. Fiedler, Reisen durch.... Griechenland i (Leipzig,1840) 316ff.; Peloponnes 165 n.1.

27. GL 469; for example, between Ay.Petros and Vervaina: Peloponnes 163 n.1.

28. BSA lv (1960) 83.

29. Peloponnes 199ff.; cf. LRoss, Wanderungen ii (Halle, 1851) 246.

30. GL 492.

31. Fiedler, op.cit. 337.

32. BSA lvi (1961) 149 n.22.

33. Peloponnesos ii (Gotha,1852) 206; cf. Davies, op.cit. 255, who found one soft sherd with poor black glaze and two coarse fragments near the mines. He also found slag at Kyparissi (ancient Kainepolis, the site of Roman Tainaron).

34. AO 249ff.; cf. SMC, Index s.v. "Lead". Scientific analysis by R. Brill - J. Wampler, AJA lxxi (1967) 75 (sample 6).

35. References in III. n.760.

36. References in III. n.761.

37. The Lakonian findspots probably all fall within Spartan territory, so these figurines neatly express the gradations of wealth to be found within the class of the "Homoioi". Wace, AO 250, compares these offerings with the silver votives commonly dedicated at popular shrines in the Greece of his day.

38. Davies, op.cit. 254 n.6. It would be interesting to know if the two Minoan lead figurines from nearby Kambos (Tsountas, AE 1891, 189-91) were of local material!

39. Davies, loc.cit.

40. Peloponnes 164. The lead, if worked, would further explain Spartan interest in the Skiritis.

41. Op.cit. 202.

42. Roman Mines 254.

43. A. Rosenfeld, The Inorganic Raw Materials of Antiquity (1965)111,113.

44. Peloponnes 212, 415. For the stone used for mill-stones from the region of Mistra, see Frazer, Pausanias iii.361-2; cf. no.13.

45. Semple, Geography 680; J. and R. Christy, Making Pottery (1969) ch.2. For an excellent review article dealing with the present state of scientific analysis of pottery, see D.P.S. Peacock, World Archaeology i (1969) 375-89. The techniques have yet to be applied to Lakonian pottery of historical times, but see II. n.298 for analysis of pre-historic samples. Further bibliography on pottery is given in II.n.41.

46. Droop, AO 52-3, presents most forcibly the arguments in favour of a pottery-tradition in Sparta, using local clay, from the "Geometric" (i.e. PG) period onwards. Priority in inventing the art of "compounding earth, water and fire" (IG ii.^{2} 11954) was disputed by Corinth and Athens: Burford, CGRS 192.

1. Semple, Geography 48-50.

2. For technical detail on the Mediterranean area, see B. Gutenberg - C. F. Richter, Seismicity of the Earth (O.U.P.,1954); cf. for a good general view of the subject, A. Holmes, Principles of Physical Geology[2] (1965) ch.25. A plan of subsidence zones in the Mediterranean is given in Semple p.18, reproduced in R. J. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology vii[2] (1966) 37.

3. The Caietas: Strabo viii.5.7; cf. the Apothetai, into which all Spartan infants rejected by the old men were thrown; Plut., Lyk.xvi.1-2.

4. A. G. Galanopoulos, Peloponnesiakē Protochronia 1964, 49-53.

5. But not from a flight of birds, as stated by Huxley, Early Sparta 76. For versions of Anaximander's theory, see Ammianus Marcellinus xvii.7.12; Aristotle, Met. 365[a] 19-35; cf. M. L. West, Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient (1971) 210. Pliny (NH ii.191), probably misinterpreting Cicero, records the tradition that Pherekydes also predicted this earthquake.

6. Wellmann, RE s.v. "Anaximandros".

7. Pliny wrongly infers from Cicero that this chunk actually fell on Sparta, 5-6 km. distant as the crow flies.

8. Thuc. i.101; D.S. xi.63.5; Plut., Kimon xvi; Paus. iv. 24.6; Schol. Ar., Lysistrata 1144. For earthquakes in Sparta during the Peloponnesian War, see Thuc. viii.6.5 (winter 412/11: this had the important effect of diminishing Spartan assistance to the disaffected allies of Athens in East Greece); Xen., HG iii.3.2 and Plut., Alk. 23 (415/4?).

9. The alteration is symbolised by the recovery of the "Bones of Orestes" (Hdt.i.67-8.): Forrest, HS ch.6.

10. Paus. iii.11.9.

11. Paus. iii.14.7. For a hereditary priestess of Poseidon Domatites, see IG v.1, p.131.

12. Paus. iii.20.2; the same Poseidon at Gythion (Paus.iii.21.8): see Wide, LK 38. For his race-course near Sparta, see Xenophon, HG vi.5.30.

13. And indeed elsewhere in Greece: Strabo i.3.16, p.57 records that the Rhodians founded a temple to Poseidon on the volcanic island of Thera with the epithet Asphalios.

14. The quasi-scientific theory of Seneca (Quaest. Nat.vi.6ff.), which held that earthquakes were in some way due to the action of water, seems to represent a conflation of the earlier (and happily co-existent) beliefs in Poseidon as both sea-god and earth-shaker (or earth-holder).

15. Plut., Kimon xvi; Aelian, Var. Hist. vi.7. In the same way, Poseidon received the praise for the earthquake in the Argolis in 388 B.C., which occurred during a Spartan attack: Xen., HG iv.7.4-5 (a good example, incidentally, of Spartan political religiosity).

16. E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational^{2} (1964) 79n.100.

17. E.g. Hdt. vi.82: Kleomenes, brought to trial for failing to take Argos in c. 494 B.C. (bribery was alleged), defended himself by saying that,when sacrificing to Hera, a flame had shot from the breast of the goddess' statue, whereas only if it had shot from her head would it have meant that he was to take Argos. This defence seemed to the Spartans to be "credible and plausible" (!) and Kleomenes was fully acquitted.

18. The discussion by Toynbee, SPGH 346-52, of the effects of the earthquake of c. 465 neatly illustrates the ambiguities in detail involved in estimating its immediate or long-term effects. Compare the following statements: "The meagreness of our information makes it impossible to reach any sure conclusion about either the statistical facts themselves or their demographic, social, political, and military consequences" (347). "These facts and figures (sc. inferences from the "meagre" information) are illuminating. They tell us why ..... They also tell us one of the reasons why .....; why .....; and why ....." (352)! But this does not affect the general point that the threat of seismic disturbance may have contributed to Spartan fear and superstition: for these characteristic responses, see P. Epps, "Fear in Spartan Character", CPh xxviii (1933) 12-29.

1. I am indebted to the Commonwealth Bureau of Soils (Harpenden, England) for generously sending me their Annotated Bibliography No. 1520 relating to the "Soils of Greece (1967-1922) and Albania (1961-1942)". Regrettably, none of the 49 items listed is concerned specifically with Lakonia.

2. For a detailed discussion of the different types of soil and their respective agricultural potentialities, see D. Hall, The Soil[6] (1960); and, more briefly but equally clearly, C. E. Kellogg, Scientific American (July, 1950); for the general features of Greek soils, P. A. Anastassiades, Soil Science lxvii (1949) 347-62. The soil-types of Lakonia and Messenia are set out graphically in ESAG, no.105; on SW Messenia, see now N. J. Yassoglou - C. Nobeli in McDonald - Rapp, MME ch.10.

3. E. Hyams, Soil and Civilization (1952); W. A. Albrecht, "Physical, Chemical and Biochemical Changes in the Soil Community," in W. L. Thomas, Jr., ed., Man's Role in changing the Face of the Earth (1956) 648-73, reprinted in T. R. Detwyler, ed., Man's Impact on Environment (1971) 395-418. The implications of soil-analysis for the archaeologist are briefly considered by L. Biek and I. W. Cornwall in D. Brothwell - E. S. Higgs, edd., Science in Archaeology[2] (1969) chs. 10,11.

4. Moore, DG[4] s.v. "Evapotranspiration"; R. J. Chorley, ed., Water, Earth and Man (1969) Part 4.

5. Moore, DG[4] s.v. "Weathering"; Whitten - Brooks, DG s.v. "Weathering".

6. In some areas the land must be left fallow for four out of every five years: ESAG, no.301.

7. Water (sea, rivers, rain or hail) is the most important natural erosion-agent, but human activity can of course aid and abet it. For example, in 1947 Kalyvia tis Sokhas in the Spartan plain (no.12) was hit by a devastating flood whose suggested cause was the deliberate burning of forests on Taygetos: J. M. Cook, BSA xlv (1950) 263, with pl.26.2. For terracing, see AH ii,pl. 14; the high proportion of sloping land is an important factor limiting the cultivable area of Greece: Anastassiades, op.cit. (n.2).

8. ESAG, no.327. The low density of plant-cover other than forest is due, as I have pointed out, to the climate (Sparta receives a sub-tropical version of the Mediterranean type). The resulting tendency to overcrowd crops on the relatively fertile land leads to soil-exhaustion and poor yields; cf. the effects of erosion described in the text.

9. See e.g. Philippson, GL 428.

10. Plato, Kritias 111 B - E, quoted with apposite comment by A. W. Gomme, Greece (1945) 10-11. For other ancient sources on matters pedological, see Semple, Geography 348, 352. K.I. Nevros, "Soil erosion in Greece", Soil Conservation vi (1940) 129 ff. provides a historical perspective on the problems, together with a general account of recent control-measures.

11. So dense was the forest that it gave the region its name - Skotitas or, roughly, "the dark one".

12. Significantly, Leake, Morea i.128, 132 and 251 testifies to forest appreciably heavier than today as late as the first half of the nineteenth century; cf. n.15.

13. A table showing the quantity of each of the main species of tree growing in Lakonia in 1930 is given in Philippson, GL 508.

14. I have argued against significant climatic change in I.iv, init.

15. One example (to add to that cited in n.7) is the decimation of the black-pine forest of Vasiliki in central Taygetos within the last century: Philippson, GL 431.

16. The separation of stock- from arable-farming may have been an important turning-point, for the specialist herdsman need have fewer qualms than the farmer about allowing his animals, especially the omnivorous goat, to prevent reforestation. For an example of modern land-use, see S. Aschenbrenner in McDonald - Rapp, MME ch.4.

17. The lower Pamisos valley was known as Makaria ("Happiness" or "Blessedness") in antiquity: Bölte, RE s.v. "Makaria(6)"; the upper valley is the Stenyklaros plain: Bölte, RE s.v. For the process of annexation, see III.viii(b).

18. Polybius (vi. 49.7) noted this. But perhaps even Sparta was forced to buy or requisition grain imported from Sicily during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc.iii.86.4; cf.i.120.2), though she was not among the recorded recipients of Cyrenaean grain in the general famine of 330-326: Tod, Greek Historical Inscriptions ii (1948) no.196.

19. Isokrates (xii.178-9) commented, crookedly, on the unfairness. See further Bölte, RE 1321ff.; F. Hampl, Hermes lxxii (1937) 1-49, at 11ff.

20. See I.nn.83-4 for some modern examples. Land-hunger was part of the reason why Sparta invaded Messenia in the late eighth century: III.viii(b) and esp. its nn.980,984.

1. C. M. Kraay - M. Hirmer, Greek Coins (1966) 344-5, no.520; the coins depicting the king were designed to emulate the issues of the great Hellenistic monarchs recently discussed by N. Davis - C. M. Kraay, The Hellenistic Kingdoms: portrait coins and history (1973).

2. Odeloi in Doric: H. Frisk, Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, s.v. "obeloi".

3. W. L. Brown, "Pheidon's Alleged Aiginetan Coinage", NC^2 x (1950)177-204, at 190-4; M. Oikonomidou, AAA ii (1969) 436-45; V. Karageorghis, BCH xciv (1970) 35-44 (Cyprus). The five Paestum examples are now illustrated and discussed by U. Kron, JdI lxxxvi (1971) 126,131-44, fig.6.

4. L. M. Fraser, Economic Thought and Language (1937) 131-3 suggested five: medium of exchange and/or store of value; purchasing power; liquid or short-term capital; liquid reserves in general; unit of value. Cf. Karl Marx, Grundrisse (Eng. trans. 1973) 136 (the "Chapter on Money", pp. 115-238, shows indirectly how dangerous it is to speak of a "money economy" in ancient Greece).

5. See e.g. A. H. Quiggin, A Survey of Primitive Money (1949, repr. 1970); P. Einzig, Primitive Money^2 (1966) (Book III discusses exhaustively the different theories of the origin of money).

6. M.I. Finley, The Ancient Economy (1973) ch. 1 is fundamental.

7. Snodgrass, DAG 237-9; but see II.n.201. For the suggestion that there was no need for a standardised spit currency before the seventh century, R. M. Cook, "Speculations on the Origin of Coinage", Historia vii (1958) 257-62, at 259.

8. Herakleides Ponticus fr. 152 Wehrli; Plut., Lysander xvii.3; Pollux ix.77. For the etymology, Frisk, loc.cit. (n.2). Comparative evidence on the use of spit-type currencies is marshalled by J. Déchelette, "Les Origines de la drachme et de l'obole", Rev. Num.^{4} xv (1911)1-59 (Etruria, central Europe, Gaul, Spain and Britain); add now PPS xxxvii (1971) 226-8.

9. J. Hicks, A Theory of Economic History (1969) 64 describes such goods as "generalisms"; cf. p.67 for the suggestion that early metallic money (not only coined) must have been mainly a store of value.

10. C. Lévi-Strauss, The Raw and the Cooked (1970), with E. Leach, Lévi-Strauss^2 (1974) ch.2.

11. Ideology: B. Laum, Heiliges Geld (1924), not very favourably reviewed by Chr. Blinkenberg, Gnomon ii (1926)102-7; but see n.20; cf. L.Gernet, "La notion mythique de la valeur en Grèce" (1948), Anthropologie de la Grèce Antique (1968) 93-137. Practicality: P. Courbin, BCH lxxxi (1957) 322 ff., 370 ff. (spits found in the well-known warrior-grave at Argos); G. Bruns, "Küchenwesen und Mahlzeiten", Archaeologia Homerica ii.Q (1970) 31-4; J. Boardman, Kretika Chronika xxiii (1971) 7-8.

12. Xenophon, Lak. Pol.vii.5-6; Ps.-Plato, Eryxias 400AB; Polybios vi.49.8; Poseidonios fr. 240A Edelstein; Plut., Lyk.ix.1-2, xii.2, xix.1; Lysander xvii.1-2; Mor.226CD; Pollux vii.105, ix.79; Justin, Hist.Phil. iii.2.11-12. The discussion by H. Michell, Phoenix i (1946) 42-4 is of little help.

13. An entry in Hesychios s.v. "pelanor" has given rise to unjustifiably confident statements: U. Köhler, AM vii (1882) 1-7, 377-9 (compared to circular iron coins of Tegea, Argos and Heraia - add now Phleious and Thebes); K. Regling, RE s.v. "Geld" 979 (bars). In fact, Hesychios merely equates pelanor with tetrachalkon (see LSJ[9] Supp.). Nor is there any warrant for the view of B. Laum, Das Eisengeld der Spartaner (1925) that the sickle-shaped objects let into Hellenistic and Roman victory-stelai at Orthia were used as currency; see rather Boardman, JHS xci (1971) 136-7 (strigils).

14. III.iv(e) and esp. n.773.

15. Brown, op.cit.(n.3 above) 192; for the epigraphical evidence (esp. from Perachora), Jeffery, LSAG 122-5.

16. P. Courbin, "Valeur comparée du fer et de l'argent lors de l'introduction du monnayage", Annales (ESC) xiv (1959) 209-33: an exhaustive discussion, particularly valuable for disproving the neat mathematics of C. T. Seltman, Athens, its History and Coinage (1924) 117-22; cf. L. H. Jeffery - A. Morpurgo Davies, Kadmos ix (1970) 137-8 (problem of weight as opposed to monetary value).

17. See briefly M. Austin - P.Vidal-Naquet, Economies et Sociétés en Grèce Ancienne[2] (1972) 71-4, with further bibliography.

18. See esp. E. S. G. Robinson, JHS lxxi (1951) 156-67; NC[6] xvi (1956) 1-8. Recent finds of early Greek issues: Oikonomidou, AAA v (1972) 176-80 (electrum from Ionia); BCH xcvii (1973) 255 and fig.6 (Aiginetan silver turtles).

19. Xenophanes fr.4 West; Hdt. i.94.1: with A. R. Bellinger, "Electrum Coins from Gordion", Fest.E.S.G. Robinson (1968) 10-15; G. K. Jenkins, Ancient Greek Coins (1972) 27 ff.

20. Ed. Will, Rev. Hist. ccxii (1954) 209-31, developing ideas of Laum (n.11); cf. Will, Rev.Num.[5] xvii (1955) 5-23. Will makes much of Aristotle, Nic.Eth. 1132[b] 31-33[b]28 (= Austin - Vidal-Naquet, op.cit. (n.17) 249-54, no.43) and rightly stresses the etymological connection between nomisma and nomos discussed by E. P. Laroche, Histoire de la racine NEM - en grec ancien (1949).

21. Cook, op.cit.(n.7) 261.

22. C. M. Kraay, "Hoards, Small Change and the Origins of Coinage", JHS lxxxiv (1964) 76-91, esp. 88-91; cf. Vidal-Naquet, Annales (ESC) xxiii (1968) 196-8.

23. Cook, op.cit. 261n.21; cf. Finley, op.cit. (n.6) 166-9 (coinage always a state monopoly). On the use of coinage generally, see the survey by K. Christ, Saeculum xv (1964) 214-29 (flawed by the confusion of coinage and money).

24. A. M. Andreades, Greek Public Finance (1933) 58-76. I have not seen C. D. Sterghiopoulos, Les Finances Grecs au 6[e] siecle (1949).

25. On "ports of trade" as institutions for linking economies of dissimilar type, K. Polanyi, Journal of Economic History xxiii (1963) 30-45, with S. C. Humphreys, HT viii (1969) 191-6.

26. Seltman, op.cit.(n.16) 121; cf. Appendix II.B.

27. This near-autarky was noticed by Polybios (vi.49.7-8); it applies particularly to the importation of wheat, which may have begun in some areas of Greece in the seventh century.

28. In antiquity Xenophon and Plutarch above all; cf. Rawson, STET, Index s.v. "Coinage, absence or peculiarity of".

29. Finley, "Sparta" in Vernant, PGGA 145 situates the refusal in the context of the "sixth-century revolution"; Einzig, op.cit. (n.5) 223-5 speaks of "economic nationalism".

30. For this inference, see A. Blakeway, CR xlix (1935) 185; and already Köhler, op.cit. (n.13) 5-6.

31. By quenching it in vinegar - metallurgically dubious: Plut., Lyk. ix.1-2; Lysander xvii.2. Einzig, op.cit. 459-60 comments that, if true, this would have been "one of the outstanding instances of early fiduciary currency"! Against the supposed "demonetisation" of spits after the introduction of coinage, Brown, op.cit. 204n.70.

32. Megara and Lokroi, for example, managed for considerable periods without coinages of their own. An Aiginetan stater (with other coins?) was found at Anoyia in the Spartan plain (I.vi, no.11 and its n.406); cf. Meiggs-Lewis, GHI no.67. See also Plut., Lyk.xii.2 and Dikaiarchos fr.72 Wehrli (monetary contributions to the syssitia); and note that the authorities could offer "much silver" as a reward for Helots in 425 (Thuc. iv.26.5). The perioikoi were presumably not subject to the ban, but (so far as I am aware) no pre-third century coin has yet turned up on a certainly perioikic site: see only nos.40A, 83.

33. To the passages cited by de Ste. Croix, OPW 137-8, add Alkaios fr.101 Diehl ("wealth makes the man" - aphorism attributed to the Spartan Aristodamos). On the possibility of exchange without silver coinage in Sparta, see e.g. Thuc. v.34.2 and the victory-stele of Damonon: Finley, op.cit.(n.29) 150-1. Particularly relevant here is M.Mauss, The Gift (1923-4, Eng.trans. 1954).

34. Hdt. vi.62.2, with Finley, op.cit. 150. Herodotus uses the word only once more (iii.41.1, of Polykrates).

35. Some of the more important passages are cited by Andreades, op.cit. (n.24) 47-50,61. For the practice of depositing money (presumably coined) illegally in Tegea and Delphi, see Poseidonios fr. 240A, illustrated perhaps by IG v.2.159 = Jeffery, LSAG 216, no.27.

1. The argument of II.iii is the frame of reference and its annotation will not be duplicated.

2. Meiggs - Lewis, GHI no.2 (Dreros); Mr. Boardman has suggested a connection between Cretan priority in lawmaking and the immigration of oriental craftsmen to the island.

3. For appreciations of Grote's life and scholarly achievement, see Momigliano, "George Grote and the Study of Greek History" (1952), SIH 56-74; M. L. Clarke, George Grote (1962).

4. On Niebuhr's achievement, see Stern, VOH^2 46-53.

5. For the importance of the group, see (1)

6. This is the main point made in (2).

7. I take this rigorous caution to be a measure of Grote's stature as a historian.

8. My main point of disagreement with Grote (and Eratosthenes) is their placing of the end of the "mythical" era at 776. I should put it somewhere between 550 and 500; cf. P. A. Brunt, CR n.s. xiii (1963) 399 (review of Clarke, op.cit. in n.3).

9. The almost universally hostile reaction to the work of Havelock (16) is no doubt also symptomatic of the prevalent feeling among ancient historians and classicists.

10. Anthropology began as, and to some extent continues to be, a part of the colonial situation - an unfortunate circumstance conducive to the kind of ethnocentric thinking that invented the "primitive mind": K. Gough, "World Revolution and the Science of Man", in T. Roszak, ed., The Dissenting Academy (Penguin, 1969) 125-44. But see now R. Firth, "The Sceptical Anthropologist? Social Anthropology and Marxist Views on Society", Proceedings of the British Academy lviii (1972) 177-213.

11. The structural-functionalist approach of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown is generally not fruitful. As Lewis (22) has well put it, the "mystique of status quo maintenance according to which the only significant function of institutions lies in the contribution they make to the perpetuation of the established order" is indeed "ultimately stultifying". It was precisely this approach which led anthropologists to attribute little or no importance to the past of the communities they studied, thereby earning the justified rebukes of Evans-Pritchard (6) and Kroeber (21).

12. On genealogies, see further Appendix IX.

13. The rest of the paper is less relevant here, being primarily concerned with the supposedly general features of literate culture. This was the section which Gough (13) most criticised. She concluded: "Literacy appears to be, above all, an enabling factor, permitting largescale organisation, the critical accumulation, storage and retrieval of knowledge, the systematic use of logic, the pursuit of science and the elaboration of the arts. Whether, and with what emphases, these developments will occur seems to depend less on the intrinsic knowledge of writing than on the overall development of the society's technology

and social structure, and perhaps, also, on the character of its relations with other societies". This judgement is fully supported by the example of Sparta, where the alphabet and restricted literacy were not found mutually incompatible.

14. It will perhaps be enough to point out that in the seven chapters and one appendix there are no less than 115 sections and subsections, not to mention the convenient (and necessary!) summaries. Yet even so Vansina claims to be offering no more than an introduction to the problems.

15. The point here is the distinction between oral sources or testimonies and oral traditions: the latter consist exclusively of hearsay accounts.

16. However, "the notion of archetypes for narrative traditions has to be eliminated completely,since... historical traditions can arise from the fusion of two or more fictional accounts into a new, historically differentiated, stream of narrative". Shades of Grote!

17. Cf. W. Sturtevant, Ethnohistory xiii (1966) 26: "A great deal of the evaluation of oral tradition as historical evidence depends upon detailed ethnographic knowledge of the ... features of folk history as a system within the culture under study rather than isolated scraps of ideas". See the contributions of W. A. Lessa, J. Guiart and K. Burridge to (23).

18. As Professor J. V. Luce has suggested to me, Vansina apparently uses "mirage" on the analogy of the bent stick in water rather than the (non-existent) water on road. This interpretation accords with the usage of Ollier, MS.

19. But he is under an illusion concerning the amount and type of historical information to be extracted from archaeological evidence alone and would profit from the works cited in II.n.467.

1. I have been greatly helped by discussion and correspondence with Richard Ball of Wadham College, Oxford, but the errors contained in this Appendix are of course my responsibility.

2. Basic bibliography in Tigerstedt, LSCA 316n.40; Bengtson, GG^{4} 72-4. Add now D. P. Henige, The Chronology of Oral Tradition (1974) esp. ch.2 and Appendix C, which appeared too late for me to digest its interesting suggestions.

3. Succinct and helpful is A. Andrewes, "The Government of Classical Sparta", Fest. V. Ehrenberg (1966) 1-20; but cf. the criticisms in the notes to de Ste. Croix, OPW ch.IV (v), esp. 138-48, where he argues that, although the kings' potestas was tightly circumscribed, their auctoritas could be made potent in action by men like Kleomenes I and Agesilaos II. See now C. G. Thomas, "On the role of the Spartan Kings", Historia xxiii (1974) 257-70.

4. See e.g. M. P. Nilsson, "Das Homerische Königtum" (1927), Op.Sel. ii (1952) 871-97, esp. 875.

5. The most influential theories are conveniently cited (though not in full) by Oliva, SSP 23-28: I have a completely open mind, although the theory of an accommodation between two monarchically ruled groups, who arrived at different times - Agiads first - and each settled two villages, seems as plausible as any.

6. The discrepancy was noted in antiquity: see the rather ambiguous apophthegm attributed to King Pleistarchos in Plut., Mor. 231C; cf. Strabo viii, p.366; Plut., Lyk. ii; Paus. iii.7.1.

7. I have argued that the earliest datable remains from Dark Age Sparta belong to the middle of the tenth century, and this is about right for the date of the initial Dorian settlement; cf. II.n.540.

8. The kings as Heraklids: Thuc. v.16.2; cf. Hdt. v.72.3 (the famous and much discussed reply of Kleomenes I to the Athenian priestess - "I am an Achaean, not a Dorian"). The link is at least as old as Tyrtaios (fr.2.12-15 West). See further text below.

9. Omitted from the list of cross-references in J. E. Powell, The History of Herodotus (1939) Appendix II.

10. D. W. Prakken, "Herodotus and the Spartan King Lists", TAPA lxxi (1940) 460-72; his Table B on pp.471-2 assembles the references in H. to the kings omitted from the lists. For Prakken and most other scholars the compiler of the lists adapted by H. was Hekataios of Miletos in his Geneēlogiai; cf. section II, below.

11. There may be a direct connection between the two events: see III.viii(b) and nn.1011ff.

12. For these authors, see respectively II.nn.420; 423, 425; 424, 427; 428;429 and 529.

13. Esp. Pyth. xi.16, 31-2; Nem. xi.33-4: cited by de Ste. Croix, OPW 97n.17.

14. See e.g. H. T. Wade-Gery, The Poet of the Iliad (1952) 66n.22. The conquest of Lakonia, esp. Amyklai, the conquest of Messenia and the gaining of effective control over the Peloponnese (through the "Bones of Orestes" policy: II.v(d) and nn.528-9) are the three most obvious occasions where the Heraklid connection had political utility. Cf. Forsdyke, GBH 47.

15. The expression "charter" is due to Malinowski; the phrase in inverted commas to Goody - Watt, CL 309. A good example from more recent times is discussed by L. Bohannan, "A genealogical charter", Africa xxii (1952) 301-15. For Spartan interest in genealogies, see II.n.451.

16. The "Bones of Orestes" policy may have inspired the production of the first written king-lists (and, indirectly, the ephor-lists?), but equally Hekataios or whoever was the first to "publish" the lists could have collated possibly conflicting oral testimonies. The absence of written lists in Sparta would have facilitated periodic "revisions", like those of the fourth century in the Eurypontid list: Kiechle, MS 90-101.

17. On the historical value of orally preserved genealogies, see in general Vansina, OT Index s.v. "Genealogies", esp. 153-4.

18. A similar question arises in connection with the Olympic victor-list and, to a lesser degree, the names of the oikists of colonies.

19. Jeffery, LSAG 20-1; cf. Jeffery - A. Morpurgo Davies, Kadmos ix (1970) 149-51. The function of hieromnēmones was quite unlike this in the Classical period (Aristotle, Pol. 1351^{b}).

20. See II.n.463.

21. Suspicion can only be fuelled by the claim that the succession passed in an unbroken line from father to son down to the fifth century, in stark contrast to known practice thereafter; for other tendentious inaccuracies, see Tigerstedt, LSCA 23.

22. For the kings, see n.8 above. Non-royal Heraklids are e.g. Hetoimaridas (D.S. xi.50.6) and Lysander (Plut., Lys. ii); non-Heraklid aristocrats are e.g. the Aigeidai (Hdt. iv.149) and Talthybiadai (Hdt. vii.134. 1; cf. 134.2 for the "well-born" Sperthias and Boulis).

23. Finley, MMH; ibid., The Ancestral Constitution (1971) esp. 30ff.

24. F. Jacoby, Apollodors Chronik (1902) 76ff.; Wade-Gery, op.cit. (n.14 above) 27ff.; Forsdyke, GBH 30-5; Burn, LAG 405-8.

25. For general bibliography, II.n.435; on Hekataios' use of the lists, Jacoby, Atthis 306n.25, 323n.28, 357-8n.26.

26. Forschungen i (1892) 153-88, esp. 169ff., 179-82. However, Ball rightly points out to me that Hekataios is not the only candidate and asks: "was the use of a forty-year generation derived from Spartan or Dorian practice, a Pythagorean dogma (Diog. Laert. viii.10), an intellectual innovation from some non-Greek source, or the result of long reigns by Spartan kings in the fifth century?"

27. The use of a 39-year generation was argued by Burn, JHS lxix (1949) 71-3 (following M. Miller); cf. now Miller, Studies in Greek Chronography i. The Sicilian Colony Dates (1970). On the problems of generational chronology generally, see Samuel, GRC 242-5; cf. n.34 below.

28. See II.n.461. It is not, however, known whether Charon's work on Spartan prytaneis dealt with the kings or ephors or both.

29. Timaios is F.Gr.Hist. 566: see Jacoby, IIIb Text, p.538; Atthis 357-8n.26.

30. Ball suggests the reign-lengths may have been invented after Timaios but before Eratosthenes, perhaps by Sosibios (for whom, see II.n.403). He observes that exactness of a spurious kind is particularly prevalent in the third century B.C. and later, e.g. the Marmor Parium.

31. For a brief survey of all aspects of Eratosthenes' work, see P. M. Fraser, PBA lvi (1970) 175-207, esp. 190, 196-7.

32. "Vulgate" is used loosely in view of known discrepancies: see recently W. G. Forrest, "The Spartan King-lists in Diodorus", CQ n.s. xix (1969) 106-10 - an article, incidentally, that neatly illustrates the enormous complexities of Quellenforschung of ancient chronographers.

33. This point is made by Burn, "Dates in Early Greek History", JHS lv (1935) 130-46, at 133-4.

34. The scheme of three generations to a century was already known to Herodotus (ii.142.2), but his usage was very far from consistent: F. W. Mitchel, "Herodotus' Genealogical Chronology", Phoenix x (1956) 48-69; Miller, "H. as Chronographer", Klio xlvi (1965) 109-28, at 115, 120-3.

35. Burn, op.citt.(nn.24, 27, 33) argues for a 25% reduction (from 40 to 30) for all dates before 500.

36. Forrest, HS 21.

37. The Agiad stemma from Agis I downwards apparently lists historical kings (associated material is a separate problem), but the successors of Eurypon include the highly suspicious Prytanis and Eunomos. If these are excised, we are left with no Eurypontid king before the second half of the ninth century.

1. Translated by E. Keeley and P. Sherrard, Six Greek Poets (1960). Sikelianos, who presupposes the identification of Orthia with Artemis (see n.10 below), brilliantly conveys the ambiguities and contradictions of this divine power.

2. See III.ii(c).

3. Contemporary dwellings were probably mainly of perishable materials: Drerup, GBGZ 96; cf. S. Sinos, Die Vorklassischen Hausformen in der Ägäis (1971) 109-16. Funerary architecture is an unknown quantity in Lakonia; there were no fortifications and few public buildings (none survives).

4. See e.g. G. K. Jencks, Modern Movements in Architecture (Penguin, 1973) esp. 371-2.

5. I.vi and n.323.

6. O. Kern, Religion der Griechen i (1926) 74. On the siting of a temple, see Plato, Laws 778C; Aristotle, Pol. 1330^{a-b}; Vitruvius i.7.1: A. Burford, The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros (1969)41ff.

7. V. Scully, The Earth, the Temple and the Gods (1962) 31-2, 81-2 (but the language is too much).

8. The evidence is conveniently surveyed by H. J. Rose, AO ch. 12 (bibliography p.407); on the spelling of Orthia, see III.n.13.

9. H. Frisk, Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch s.vv; H. Gams, Der Kleine Pauly i (1964) s.v. "Artemis" (condensed review of modern theories); Nilsson, GGR $i.^3$ 481-500, esp, 487-90. The sculpture illustrated in BCH xcv (1971) 880, fig.165 speaks louder than words.

10. On the earliest epigraphical evidence, see III.n.12; Flavian identification, AO 293. For the assimilation, Marangou, LEB n.76; against the identification of Artemis in Linear B, C. Sourvinou, Kadmos ix (1970) 42-7.

11. See I. n.322.

12. For the telescoping of the excavators' first two phases and the date of 700, see the contributions of Bergquist and Boardman respectively, discussed in III.ii(e).

13. F. Matx, "Archaische Gebäudegruppen", AE 1953-4, 85.

14. III.n.591 (bronze horse figurines).

15. Altar in centre: Bergquist, The Archaic Greek Temenos (1967) 89. Sacrifice: W. Burkert, GRBS vii (1966) 87-121, esp. 102-13 (origins, development and significance of sacrificial ritual, citing the relevant modern works).

16. F. Oelmann, BJ clvii (1957)21-2; Snodgrass, DAG 422-3.

17. See III.viii(b).

18. Irregularity: Matz, loc.cit.with fig.1 on p.86. Size: C. G. Yavis, Greek Altars (1949) 109; Bergquist, op.cit.pl.28. Altar: Yavis 87-90, 108-10; M. Şahin, Die Entwicklung der gr. Monumentalaltäre (Diss. Köln, 1972) 20-1 (but he has not taken account of Bergquist).

19. A. W. Lawrence, Greek Architecture (1957) 116; cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, The Architecture of Ancient Greece[3] (1950) 41; contrast the usual attitude to temple-building described by Lawrence p.295.

20. See most recently Drerup, GBGZ 19-21.

21. Drerup, GBGZ 106-8; cf. R. Martin, Manuel d'Architecture Grecque i (1965) 35-6 (mud-brick).

22. Lawrence, op.cit. 94; cf p.96 on the consequences of the adoption of tiled roofs generally by c.650 (see n.33 below).

23. The possibility is raised by Drerup, GBGZ 20 (comparing a building on Delos, fig.15), but apparently dismissed on p.113 (where other examples of a single central row at Dreros, Emporio, Thermon and on Samos are cited).

24. C. Weickert, Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und in Kleinasien (1929) 11-12; but see next note.

25. O.Lappo-Danilewski, Untersuchungen über den Innenraum der archaischen gr. Tempel (1941) 11-13 correctly points out that, pace Weickert, the columns were set in, not outside, the walls; cf. E. Kirsten, BJ clviii (1958) 173.

26. Lawrence, op.cit. 94.

27. Lawrence, op.cit. 97-8.

28. L. B. Holland, AJA xxiv (1920) 338, fig.7.1; contra Weickert, op.cit. 12.

29. E. Pernier, Annuario i (1914) 79 wrongly thought this was not a cult-bench but a sort of hearth-altar; contrast Yavis 69; Kirsten, loc.cit.; Drerup, GBGZ 121-2 (but he seems not to envisage the placing of a cult-image). For the xoanon (Paus. iii.16.10-1), see R. V. Nicholls, Fest. E. M. Blaiklock (1970) 22 and n.246.

30. Drerup, loc.cit. (n.29).

31. Drerup, GBGZ 113 with 72-3 (and fig.56), 109.

32. AO 136, no.11, fig.87; 136-7, no.14, fig.88. Cf. I.n.580 (Lakonian invention).

33. AO 137, no.15, fig.90 (black-glazed disc-akroterion, with "Geometric and Laconian I"); 137, no.20 (antefixes); 139, no.28, pl.25 (antefix, with "Geometric and Laconian I"); 139, no.29G (antefix, with "Geometric and Protocorinthian"); 140, nos. 31-2, pl.26 (cornice); 11-12, 140-1, no.35, fig.101 (sima-slab?); 141, no.36, fig.99 (eaves-tile, with "Geometric and Laconian I"); 141, no.38, pl.27 (sima-slab?); 142, (11 roof-tiles with "Geometric and Laconian I": on "Lakonian" tiles, see I.n.593); 143, with fig. 105? (cover-tile).

34. See III.nn.33, 703.

35. AO 16; Jeffery, LSAG 188; curiously omitted by Bergquist 56 (List 7).

36. Appendix XII and its nn.57-9. The rite which has proved most fascinating (to ancients and moderns alike) is diamastigōsis: W. Den Boer, Laconian Studies (1954) 261-74; Rawson, STET, Index s.v. "Whipping Contests".

37. AO 7 (fine cobbles at a higher level).

38. G. Dickins, AO ch.5 (the earliest with "latest Geometric and the first Laconian style" sherds); cf. Kunze, Gnomon ix.10-11 (he stresses the spiritual implications of the fact that none was found with "Geometric" alone). On the function of masks - "the easiest way of ceasing to be oneself" - see E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (1951) 82; on the suggested connection with the origins of comic drama, K. J. Dover, JHS lxxxiii (1963) 161. The scene depicted on Lane, LVP pl.34a gives pause!

1. So called to distinguish it from the lesser "rhetrai" cited in Plut., Lyk. xiii; Agis v.

2. The older bibliography in Busolt, GG i.^{2} 511-2n.1; the more recent in J. H. Oliver, Demokratia, the Gods and the Free World (1960) 19-20n.18; and Oliva, SSP 71-102. N.G.L. Hammond, "The Lycurgean Reform at Sparta", JHS lxx (1950) 42-64 has been reprinted, with a new Part C, as "The Creation of Classical Sparta", Studies in Greek History (1973) 47-103. The fundamental study is H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Spartan Rhetra in Plutarch Lycurgus VI" (1943-4) in EGH 37-85 (hereafter Wade-Gery).

3. H. Frisk, Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch i (1960) s.v. "ἐ῾ιρω(2)".

4. Wade-Gery 62-4; F. Quass, Nomos und Psephisma (1971) 7-11.

5. Tyrtaios fr.4.6 West; Plut., Lyk. vi.1, xiii; Agis v; Mor. 403E. IG v.1.20.2-3; 1498.12. It is also used by literary sources in Spartan contexts and is attested by both literary and epigraphical evidence for states with Spartan connections (Taras, Herakleia and Messene).

6. Forschungen i (1892) 265-9. The main weaknesses are (a) the beliefs that the dialect is Delphic and that Tyrtaios is a forgery and (b) the erroneous interpretation of the vagueness of certain formulations and the absence of ephors. For a strength, see n.28.

7. Fr.1-4 West, esp. 4. See also n.36.

8. The fragments of this Politeia are 532-545 Rose.

9. Wade-Gery 41-2; cf. the recent philological discussion of gerousia by N. E. Collinge, Glotta xlix (1971) 218-29.

10. For a typical example of the kind of problems involved in using Plutarch's commentary, see Wade-Gery 41, 51-2 (suggested emendation of the corrupt sixth clause); on Plutarch's sources for the end of Lyk. v and vi, see E. Kessler, Plutarchs Leben des Lykurgos (1910) 29-35.

11. This point is made by Oliva, SSP 100n.4, though he does not always accept its implications.

12. See III.nn.1058, 1067.

13. Wade-Gery 69 points out that the Great Rhetra "defines certain things about the composition and powers of the Gerousia" (his emphasis).

14. However emended the clause must have contained some form of damos or a related word. To the list of proposed emendations given by Oliver, op.cit. (n.2 above) 20, add now E. Levy, PdP xxviii (1973) 21-2 (δάμου δ'ἀνδρίαν ἦμεν): this suits the nature of the text more than some of the technical juridical terms that have been suggested (e.g. Wade-Gery's ἀνταγορίαν).

15. Many modern scholars follow Plutarch in separating the Rider chronologically from the main body of the text, but few make it clear that Aristotle had to resort to this drastic expedient, because he attributed the main text to Lykurgos and was convinced that the latter was active c.776, i.e. too early for Theopompos and Polydoros, whom he connected with the Rider. Other modern scholars believe kratos to be a later (probably fourth-century) addition.

16. See the discussion of possible meanings by Oliver, op.cit. 23-4, 27-9.

17. Cf. n.14.

18. The word damos was known in the Mycenaean period: M. Lejeune, "Le ΔΑΜΟΣ dans la société mycénienne", REG lxxviii (1965) 1-22; on its historical usage in political contexts, de Ste. Croix, Historia iii (1954) 21-30, esp. 22-5. See also n.35. On the development of the concept of democracy, see now M. Ostwald, Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy (1969).

19. "The main purport of the Rhetra is to define the process of legislation" (his emphasis); "I believe the Rhetra was an act of the Spartan ekklesia" (42, 59).

20. Some random illustrations: Hdt. vii.134.2 (a succession of assemblies whose agendum was to find "if any Spartan was willing to die for Sparta"); Thuc. i.87.2 (the damos decided "by shouting and not by ballot"); Plut., Lyk. xiii.1 ("rhetra" forbidding the inscribing of laws on stone). Müller, Dorians^2 ii.91 correctly noted the rarity of legislation in Sparta.

21. The cults appear only here and do not warrant detailed discussion, but the meaning of phylai and ōbai is of fundamental importance, here and elsewhere. It has often been noticed that a number of important institutions are based on the figures 3 (30 gerontes, 27 phratries at the Karneia, 300 hippeis, ?9 triakades) and 5 (ephors, nomophylakes, bidiaioi, agathoergoi, arbitrators at Salamis c. 600, Karneatai, lokhoi - five of each) and these have been linked plausibly to the three Dorian phylai (attested directly in Sparta only by Tyrtaios fr. 19.8 West) and the five kōmai. There is, however, no general agreement on when (if ever), how, why and for what purposes the local principle superseded the kinship principle of organisation; greatest disagreement surrounds the meaning of ōba. Among many treatments, see L. Pareti, "Le tribù personali e le tribù locali a Sparta", Rend. Acad. Linc. xix (1910) 455 ff.; A. M. Woodward, BSA xlvi (1951) 191-9; A. J. Beattie, CQ n.s. i (1951) 46ff.; F. D. Harvey, JHS lxxxvii (1967) 61-72; Toynbee, SPGH 260-5. In respect of the Great Rhetra, Wade-Gery 51n.1 correctly notes that the verbs governing phylai and ōbai "do not necessarily imply the creation of the bodies in question" (his emphasis).

22. I am in agreement with Toynbee, SPGH 270 on this, but his statement that "according to the rhetra, the damos of hoplite phalangites..." is misleading.

23. E.g. Chrimes, AS ch.9, esp. 345-7; Hammond, op.cit. (n.2 above) 96-8, esp. 98: "Until better evidence is forthcoming, his (Thucydides') date should hold the field"!

24. E.g. Forrest, "The Date of the Lykourgan Reforms in Sparta", Phoenix xvii (1963) 157-79; HS 55-8.

25. Huxley, ES n.283; Forrest, HS 41.

26. In general I agree with the views of L. H. Jeffery, Historia x (1961) 145-7, but the archagetai need not be the earliest kings.

27. "In effect, the blueprint would be sent to the Pythia for her endorsement": Jeffery, op.cit. 147n.29. The initiative, I believe, came from royal circles.

28. In this sense I agree with Meyer, Forschungen i.266 that "it is not the foundation on which the arrangement of the Spartan state was built".

29. The independent evidence for these views is the demand for gēs anadasmos, the murder of Polydoros and the defeat at Hysiai.

30. A. Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants (1956) ch.9 nicely describes the solution as "the Spartan alternative to tyranny"; on the origins of tyranny (with special reference to Athens, Corinth and Lesbos), see now the balanced review by H. W. Pleket, Talanta i (1969) 19-61.

31. See n.36.

32. There is no explicit reference to the military factor in the Great Rhetra (see n.22), but it is perhaps implied in phylai, ōbai and damos.

33. See Appendix IX.n.3.

34. On the powers of the Gerousia and eleigibility for it, see de Ste. Croix, OPW 125-8, 131-8, 353-4; cf. Keichle, "Eunomie und Oligarchie", XII^{e} Congrès International des Sciences Historiques i (1965) 279-90 (aristocracy). A. Andrewes, Probouleusis. Sparta's Contribution to the technique of government (1954) gives the probouleusis (which he identifies in the Great Rhetra) too technical a connotation.

35. V. Ehrenberg, "Der Damos in archaische Sparta" (1933), Polis und Imperium (1965) 202-20; D. Butler, "Competence of the Demos in the Spartan Rhetra", Historia xi (1962) 385-96. Müller, Dorians^{2} ii.87 hit the nail on the head when he wrote (approvingly) of "the aristocratical spirit of the constitution, which feared nothing so much as the passionate and turbulent haste of the populace in decreeing and deciding". Note also the absence of a popular judiciary: R. J. Bonner - G. Smith, "Administration of Justice in Sparta", CPh xxxvii (1942) 113-29.

36. M. L. West, Studies in Early Greek Elegy and Iambus (1974) s.v. Tyrtaios rightly sees that there is nothing in Tyrtaios fr.4 which corresponds to the Rider, but wrongly concludes that Tyrtaios was not referring to the Great Rhetra; he also rightly notes that behind the poet's elegiacs lies a hexameter oracle connected with Theopompos and Polydoros, but illegitimately deduces that it was they who enacted the Great Rhetra.

1. I hope to publish shortly an expanded version of this Appendix; in particular the "piecemeal" hypothesis (see n.95) requires more detailed refutation.

2. Thuc. vii.28.3. Despite the experience of Anchimolios and Kleomenes at the end of the sixth century, this belief had been widespread since the Persian Wars.

3. P. A. Brunt, "Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War", Phoenix xix (1965) 255-80; cf. n.105.

4. The evidence is mostly assembled in section II below. However, a debunking case could be made for assigning the reputation to the "mirage": what impressed other Greeks was Spartan professionalism in a world of amateurs.

5. Recent treatments of Spartan military arrangements are generally more concerned with the fifth-century organisational reforms: Forrest, HS 131-7; Toynbee, SPGH 365-404; J. K. Anderson, Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon (1970) 225-51.

6. E.g. Plato, Laws 626A; Aristotle, Pol. $1333^{a}41$-$^{b}1$; $1333^{b}38$-$34^{a}2$: cf. W. K. Pritchett, Ancient Greek Military Practices i (1971) 82 and n.194 (hereafter Pritchett).

7. Cf. V. Scully, The Earth, the Temple and the Gods (1962) 2 (absence of landscape from vasepaintings).

8. Although it was an act of piety to despoil a slain foe, the Spartans reputedly avoided dedicating such spoils in their own sanctuaries: Plut., Mor. 224B (18), 224F (4). Olympia was perhaps not subject to this scruple: Jeffery, LSAG 199, no.19; at any rate the Greeks as a whole regularly dedicated both armour and weapons here and at Delphi, often as a tithe: e.g. Ol.Ber. viii.93, pls.44.2,45 (otherwise unknown early fifth-century battle between Argos and Corinth); spear-butt cited in n.44; and cf. in general, Pritchett ch.5.

9. Snodgrass, Arms and Armour of the Greeks (1967) ch.1 (hereafter AAG), cf. J. A. Davison, "The First Greek Triremes", CQ xli (1947) 23-4.

10. The following are cited hereafter by author's name alone:
    H. L. Lorimer, "The Hoplite Phalanx", BSA xlii (1947) 76-138.
    A. M. Snodgrass, "The Hoplite Reform and History", JHS lxxxv (1965) 110-22.
    M. Detienne, "La Phalange: Problèmes et Controverses" in Vernant, PGGA 120-42.
    Pritchett, op.cit. (n.6 above).
    For the understanding of the archaeological evidence we are indebted to a series of studies by Snodgrass: EGAW (with the comments of Courbin in Vernant, PGGA 69-91); AAG; DAG; "The First European Body-Armour", Fest. C. F. C. Hawkes (1971) 33-50.

11. For the "age of Xenophon", see Anderson, op.cit. (n.5).

12. See generally, Müller, Dorians^{2} ii.242-64; H. K. Stein, Das Kriegswesen der Spartaner (1863). The archaeological evidence is cited only selectively here.

13. Tyrtaios fr.11.31, 35; Plut., Mor. 220A. I do not understand why Lammert, RE s.v. "Schild" thought it was oblong.

14. Only in Thuc. vi.75.5 does hoplitēs mean specifically "shieldbearer" (applied to both cavalrymen and infantrymen). According to Aristotle (fr.532 Rose), the Thebans used hoplon for "breastplate".

15. Xen., Anab. iv.7.12; used of the whole shield by (Tyrtaios) fr.15. The fragment from the Spartan akropolis bears the usual guilloche-pattern (as does the complete example cited in n.16): BSA xxvi (1923-5) 247, 274 with fig.5.13.

16. Xenophon, Lak.Pol. xi.3. The only surviving Spartan shield - complete but for the wooden backing and handles - originally belonged to one of the 292 Lakedaimonians (only 120 were Spartan citizens) captured on Sphakteria (Thuc. iv.38.5); it had been inscribed, covered with pitch and then hung up in the Stoa Poikile at Athens (Paus. i.36.5), but before the third century B.C. had found its way into a cistern: T. L. Shear, Hesperia vi (1937) 347-8, figs.10-11; AE 1937, 140-3. The suggestion that it was manufactured in Corinth is surely gratuitous; cf.n.119(end).

17. This intriguing detail (a precaution in case it fell into helot hands!) is vouchsafed by the arch-Lakoniser Kritias (Diels-Kranz, FV^{6} 88 F 37). For the phrase ekhousi porpakas ("the shields are ready for use"), see Aristophanes, Knights 888; for recent finds (Cyprus), see V. Karageorghis, Salamis v (1973) 193-4.

18. The shield is represented in all the media of Lakonian art, but only a handful of inside views in known.

19. This generalisation is justified by the largest cache of in corpore finds (Olympia: see n.8): Snodgrass, EGAW 231n.99. The Spartan shield (n.16) measured 95cm. by 83.

20. It is not, I think, an argument in favour of its manoeuvrability to point out that multiple-handled shields were used in non-hoplite formations by non-Greeks: Snodgrass 111n.4. Composition and structure are the decisive factors.

21. A hoplite who found himself isolated or forced to flee was well advised to discard his shield: Archilochos fr.5 West; Anakreon fr.36 Page. Cf. n.27.

22. Pritchett ch. 12 is interesting on the space normally left between each hoplite in the file.

23. This tendency is perfectly illustrated by the preliminaries to the battle of Mantineia in 418 (Thuc. v.71.1). Incidentally, the natural southpaw was considerably disadvantaged in the phalanx.

24. Snodgrass, EGAW 61-3. It is just possible that III.iv(b)10.B.3 was a (ceremonial?) blazon.

25. A rich variety is displayed in Archaic art; the nicest story illustrating the use of a personal emblem (a life-sized fly!) is Plut., Mor. 234C(41).

26. L. Lacroix, "Les 'blasons' des villes grecques", Etudes d' archéologie classique i (1955-6) 91-115, pls.23-5, esp.104 and n.1 (the Spartan lambda and the ruse to trick the Argives: Xen, HG iv.4.10, with Aristotle, Nic.Eth. 1117^{a} 25ff.); Anderson, op.cit. 17-20.

27. Plut., Mor. 220A (2); 239B (34); cf. Aristophanes, Wasps 19,592. On the importance of the shield, Lorimer 128.

28. Plut., Mor. 220A(2); cf. n.96. Also the name given to a slave(?): IG v.1.1229.4. For aigis, see n.85.

29. Most representations of hoplites in Lakonian art, apart from the majority of lead figurines, show the breastplate. The slinger and charioteer of AO pls.15-6 heroically wear lionskins!

30. Snodgrass, AAG 90-2; Anderson, op.cit. 20-4.

31. Plut., Mor. 220A(2); Tyrtaios fr.11.32.

32. Snodgrass, AAG 51-2. For the earliest versions (c.700), see Kunze, Ol.Ber. vii (1961) 56-128; Snodgrass, EGAW 20-8. R. Tölle-Kastenbein, Antike Welt v.3 (1974) 25 argues for a terminus ante quem of c.720 (Attic LG amphora).

33. Hearing, however, was severely impaired, if not totally blocked; but this was likely to be less crucial in the din of battle.

34. Snodgrass, AAG 51: there were two types, either lying directly along the crown or raised on a slight stilt and fitted in a holder.

35. Snodgrass, EGAW 25 and n.84; AAG pl.32. A fine fragmentary cheek-piece with a boar in relief from the Spartan akropolis: BSA xxviii. 94, fig.6 (not a Corinthian helmet). The only other in corpore Lakonian finds, so far as I am aware, are an inscribed fragment with a dedication to Olympian Zeus: M. Comstock - C. C. Vermeule, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the MFA Boston (1971) 585, no.583; and another fragment dedicated to Amyklaian Apollo: Jeffery, LSAG 199, no.9.

36. Thuc. iv.34.3; Anderson, op.cit. 27-8 with pl.10(?): cf. n.49.

37. Alkaios fr.15.4 Page; Snodgrass, AAG 52-3, pl.27. For the earliest post-Mycenaean greaves (made in central Europe but found in a ninth(?) century grave in Athens), see Snodgrass, Fest.C. F. C. Hawkes 47-8. Most Lakonian representations include greaves; for relief decoration, see BSA xxvi.256, fig.3d (bearded snake on the marble "Leonidas").

38. As Ol.Ber. viii (1967) 93, pls.44.2,45 (cf. n.8).

39. H. Brandenburg, Studien zur Mitra (1966) - mitra is the wrong word; H. Hoffman, Early Cretan Armorers (1972) 9-14. They were rendered obsolete at the end of the Archaic period by the elongation of the breastplate to cover the abdomen.

40. Found esp. at Olympia: essential references in Snodgrass, AAG 93n.6.

41. Tyrtaios fr.11.20,25,34; 12.36 (spearpoint).

42. Note also doristephanos ("glorious in war") applied to Sparta in Anth. Pal. ix.596.

43. A guess of course - no actual example could have survived, and we are given no precise measurements by any ancient author.

44. Sturax: Xen., HG vi.2.19; Plato, Laches 184A; cf. Xen., Kyn. vii.5 (name of a dog). Saurōtēr: Hdt. vii.41. Cf. Meiggs-Lewis, GHI no.57 (dedication as tithe at Olympia by Tarentines). For possible damage done by a square butt, Snodgrass, AAG 56, 80; cf. Anderson, op.cit. 37.

45. Tyrtaios fr. 11.30, 34; Plut., Lyk. xix.2; Pollux x.144. The shape of the Spartan xuēlē (Xen., Anab. iv.7.16,8.25) is unknown, but see Anderson, op.cit. 38-9.

46. Xen., HG iii.4.14 (cavalry): the Phrygians' spears, made of cornel-wood, were tougher.

47. If vase-paintings are an accurate guide, this was delivered downwards from the shoulder and aimed at the vulnerable neck. An alternative thrust, perhaps reserved for a tight corner, was delivered underhand at the abdomen.

48. Snodgrass, AAG 58.

49. Anderson 38 quotes the relevant Plutarchan anecdotes; for a possible representation on a late fifth-century Attic relief, see op.cit. pl.10.

50. Hence known as phoinikis: Xen., Lak.Pol. xi.3; Aristophanes, Lys. 1140; Aristotle fr.542.

51. Derived from the murex mollusc: see I.nn.291-2 (Kythera).

52. Aristotle, Lak.Pol. fr.86 Müller; Plut., Mor. 238F (24).

53. Arrian, Tact. xxiii.3, xxiv.2; cf.Xen.,Lak.Pol.xi.8-9, with A. Boucher, REG xxv (1912) 302-11. This was not confined to the Spartans any more than the "Corinthian" helmet was peculiar to the Corinthians.

54. E.g. Hdt. vii.225.1; ix.62.2; cf. Thuc. iv.96.2.

55. Thuc. v.70; other references are given in the Loeb ed. of Plut., Mor. vol.viii.238n.c. The manner in which Thucydides goes out of his way to explain the purpose of the flutes is eloquent of the prevalent Greek ignorance of hoplite fundamentals; the Chigi vase (n.94) suggests that the flautist had once been important in Corinth too, but presumably it was only in Sparta that the profession was ever hereditary (Hdt. vi.60).

56. Thuc. i.141.6. Contrast Thuc. iii.15.2 (allies' sentiments).

57. See III.n.1096 for modern work on the agōgē. Cowards were known technically as tresantes ("tremblers"): see the references in Ehrenberg, RE s.v.

58. R. Meister, Die spartanische Altersklassen... (1963). For call-up by groups of age-classes, see Xen., HG ii.4.32; iii.4.23; iv.5.16; vi.4.17; Lak.Pol.xi.2.

59. Regrettably, the evidence is largely confined to the Roman period, when the "Lykurgan" regime was reimposed in a misguided attempt to restore Sparta's golden age: Chrimes, AS ch.3, with A. M. Woodward, Historia i (1950) 617-20, 631-3.

60. This no doubt partly explains the string of Spartan successes in the running events at Olympia (III.n.1007), where the Spartans were in one version believed to have introduced the practice of competing in the nude (Thuc. i.6.5). For the jumping weight (halter) dedicated at Olympia by the victorious Spartan pentathlete Akmatidas, see Jeffery, LSAG 199, no.20; other haltēres: Jeffery, LSAG 199, no.21; 202, no.63.

61. Public: Finley in Vernant, PGGA 147. Homosexual: E. Bethe, Rh.Mus. n.f. lxii (1907) 438-75 (exaggerated); see rather K. J. Dover, BICS xi (1964) 31-42, esp. 36-8.

62. Andreion: Alkman fr.98.2 Page; other references in LSJ^{9} s.v. "ἀνδρεῖος (III)". Pheidition: LSJ^{9} s.v. "φειδίτης" (=either the mess in general or the place where the meal was taken); see esp. Plut., Mor. 714B. The generic term for such common meals was syssition: Hdt. i.65 (specifically military connotation); LSJ^{9} s.v., esp. Xen., Lak.Pol. v.2 ff.; Plut., Lyk. x-xii.

63. But note that W. K. Lacey, The Family in Classical Greece (1968) 194-208 suggests that the supposed Spartan hostility to the family may be another aspect of the "mirage".

64. According to Aristotle (Pol. 1256^{b}22-4), hunting is part of the art of war; cf. Xen., Hipp. viii.10; Kynegetikos xii.1; xiii.11; Plato, Laws 822-4. On hunting in Sparta, see I. nn.281-2, 284; III.n.597.

65. According to the Athenian Lykurgos (Leokr.107), the Spartans had passed a law that Tyrtaios' poems were to be sung in the royal tent before battle. See also n.55.

66. Esp. the warlike pyrrhichē: Plato, Laws 816B, with G. R. Morrow, Plato's Cretan City (1960) 359-62.

67. The Spartans even had a word for the condition of being "under orders" (taga): J. Chadwick, Studi Linguistici in onore di V.Pisani i (1969) 231-4.

68. The perioikoi, however, were another matter. We are wholly ignorant of the provisions made for their training, but by the end of the fifth century at the latest they were brigaded with Spartan citizens in battle. Since some were drawn from the ranks of the kaloikagathoi (Xen., HG v.3.9: de Ste. Croix, OPW 372), they presumably spent most of the time in their own poleis.

69. The evidence is collected in H.Popp, Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen (Diss. Erlangen, 1957); add now Pritchett 116 (phases of the moon), 122 (festivals). See esp. Xen., Lak.Pol. xiii.2-5.

70. Thuc. v.54.2; 55.3; 116.1, with de Ste. Croix, OPW 120. Xen., HG iii.4.3; 5.7; iv.7.2; v.i.33; 3.14; 4.47; vi.4.19; 5.12: Pritchett 113 and n.22.

71. See generally Pritchett 113-5; a nice anecdote in Plut., Mor. 214EF (77).

72. This presumably included the upkeep of routes used by armies marching out of Lakonia: see the lengthy topographical note by A. Andrewes in Gomme, HCT iv.91-3 (on Thuc. v.64.3).

73. Hdt. vi.60 (cf. n.55: the third hereditary profession was that of herald); Plut., Lyk. xii. 6; Mor. 218CD (3).

74. The mysterious kōthōn: Kritias, FV^{6}88 F 34; Plut., Lyk. ix.5 (P. attributed its invention to Lykurgos!); cf. III.n.172. For the problem of supply at the point of destination, see Pritchett ch.2., esp. § 3.

75. Hdt. ix.65; Thuc. i.103; cf. III.n.991 and see generally Y.Garlan, Recherches de Poliorcétique Grecque (1974) 20-44. Their own settlement of course was unfortified until the late fourth century: I.n.328.

76. HCT i.10. Gomme's observation was not original: see Hdt. vii.9B.1 (speech neatly put into the mouth of Mardonios).

77. See e.g. Thucydides' (iii.94-8, esp. 98.3) account of Demosthenes' Aitolian campaign, where hoplites were helpless against light-armed troops in rugged, mountainous terrrain; cf. W. McLeod, "The Range of the Ancient Bow", Phoenix xix (1965) 1-14 (for military purposes bowmen are quite accurate at 50-60m.; the effective range is up to c. 160-75m.). Blocking of mountain passes, esp. by light-armed troops: de Ste. Croix, OPW 190-5.

78. Noted, with intelligible exaggeration, by "Mardonios": Hdt. vii.9B.1.

79. Tyrtaios fr.10.21-5 (wound in the genitals); Thuc. iii.98.1 (weight of hoplite armour in the heat of the summer campaigning season).

80. This is one of the points of the story of the "Battle of the Champions" in c.545 between Sparta and Argos: Hdt. i.82.3 ff. Cf. Thuc. iv.134.

81. Cf. J. Hasebroek, Griechische Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte (1931) 158-9, 164.

82. The problems of interpreting "Homer" as historical evidence are considered in II.iv; on this particular aspect, see G. S. Kirk, "War and the Warrior in the Homeric Poems" in Vernant, PGGA 93-117; P. A. L. Greenhalgh, Early Greek Warfare (1973) Appendix (hereafter Greenhalgh). For the pottery etc., see G. Ahlberg, Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art (1971); J. M. Carter, BSA lxvii (1972) 55-7.

83. The Homeric descriptions of chariot-usage are often dismissed - as poetic fantasy, confused memory of Mycenaean chariotry or deliberate suppression of true cavalry: see most recently Greenhalgh esp. 7-18, 53-63; as can be seen from my text, I am not convinced. Nor do I believe (despite all the LG representations of the horse) that there was ever a "stage of true cavalry supremacy": Snodgrass, Fest. Hawkes 45-6; but Greenhalgh esp. 78-81 may be right in thinking that the introduction of hoplite warfare stimulated true cavalry as an ancillary force.

84. J. Borchhardt, Homerische Helme (1972) 62-5 (one found with the breastplate in n.88); the dangers of the high crest in hand-to-hand fighting are graphically presented in an Attic LG scene: A. Cambitoglou, AJA lxiv (1960) 366-7, pl.109.1.

85. Snodgrass, EGAW 71-86 and 201-2 concluded that the bronze plate breastplate had to be re-introduced from Urnfield Europe, a conclusion restated with further evidence in Fest. Hawkes 33-50. Continuity of name, however - to-ra-ke in Linear B - suggests that breastplates continued to be worn throughout the Dark Age though no longer of metal: for "linen-corsleted Argives", see Anth.Pal. xiv.73; cf. generally, S. Törnkvist, "A Note on linen corslets", Op.Rom. vii (1969) 81-2. According to Hesychios s.v., the Spartans called the breastplate aigis, which perhaps indicates it had once been of goatskin.

86. H. L. Lorimer, Homer and the Monuments (1950) 172-6; Snodgrass, EGAW 37-58; cf. Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands (1963) 381 ff. (Assyrian warfare in general). The "Dipylon" shield is in my view largely, if not wholly, an artistic convention.

87. Lorimer, op.cit. 254-61; but see Snodgrass, EGAW 62, 137-9.

88. P. Courbin, "Une tombe géométrique d'Argos", BCH lxxxi (1957) 322-86; with Courbin, CGA i.174, 177 (tomb 45).

89. Buffalo Inv. C 12847: A. Alföldi, Fest. K. Schefold (1967) 24 n.94, pl.7.1; Snodgrass, Fest. Hawkes 45-6, pl.5. Cf. n.83.

90. Benaki Mus. 559: Lorimer pl.19; Tölle-Kastenbein, op.cit. (n.32) 25,27, fig.10.31-5.

91. Snodgrass, EGAW 65.

92. See n.32. For a striking representation of a helmet-maker (LG bronze figurine), see Schweitzer, GKG pl.200 (cf.III.n.594).

93. Snodgrass, AAG ch.3, esp. 60-77.

94. Marnagou, LEB n.937a: there is room for dispute over the precise date (between 650 and 630). This is not the earliest attempt to represent the phalanx and it raises several historical and art-historical questions, fully discussed by Lorimer; cf. now T. Hölscher, Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (1973) 28-9, with n.56.

95. The phrase was coined by Snodgrass 110; cf. R. Nierhaus, JdI liii (1938) 90-113; Kiechle, LS 266-70; Detienne esp. 132n.67; Toynbee, SPGH 250-60.

96. I agree with Detienne 132n.68. Lynn White, Jr., Medieval Technology and Social Change (1962) 1-30 has argued for similarly far-reaching consequences of the invention of the stirrup in Carolingian times; but see D. A. Bullough, Eng.Hist.Rev. lxxv (1970) 59 ff.

97. This is perhaps the explanation of a few Homeric passages (Il. xiii.130-5 with 145-52; xvi.211-7; xii.105) which appear to describe hoplite tactics: Detienne 138n.101.

98. Snodgrass, EGAW 67 : "well before c.650".

99. Hoplite equipment is characterised by extreme conservatism: see e.g. Snodgrass, EGAW 64-5 (shield); cf. n.121 below.

100. E.g. A. Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants (1956) ch.3, esp. 41-2.

101. III.n.1037.

102. Starr, OGC Part III: this is also the best available general study.

103. The oddity here is that the monarchy did not disappear, but its power was already somewhat dissipated by being collegiate. See further Appendix IX.

104. de Ste. Croix, OPW 218-20, esp. 219n.21 (Lelantine War).

105. For the change in land-use, see I.v, Intro. and n.195. For the pattern of land-warfare, de Ste. Croix, OPW 46. Classical Athens turned herself into the one major exception.

106. See nn.76-79.

107. Forrest, EGD ch.2.

108. On Hesiod as a social commentator (esp. WD 20 ff.), see Wade-Gery, "Hesiod" (1949), EGH 10-14 (stress on dikē); G. Nussbaum, CQ n.s. x (1960) 213-20.

109. Travel was not a sufficient condition of this development: as Brunt, JHS lxxxv (1965) 218 puts it, "It was colonisation and travel that made the Greeks conscious of the relativity of customs and look for rational criteria by which to judge them; but the Phoenicians too were great travellers, and there were no like effects."

110. For the connection between political constitutions and modes of warfare, see Aristotle, Pol. $1289^{b}36$ff., 1297^{b}; cf. n.6. The comitia centuriata and plebeian secessions are relevant Roman parallels.

111. Cf. S. Schram, Political Thought of Mao (Penguin, 1969) 132: "The acceptance of technological progress rapidly undermines both the social structure on which (the Mandarins') rule is based and the ideas serving as its justification".

112. M. P. Nilsson, "Hoplitentaktik und das Staatswesen" (1928), Op.Sel. ii (1952) 897-907; C. Mossé, "Armee et Cité Grecque", REA lxv (1963) 290-7; L. Gernet, Anthropologie de la Grèce Antique (1968) 375 and n.16; Detienne 140.

113. On the "quasi-laws" of Greek warfare, see Diodoros xxx.18.2 (from Polybios); cf. Hdt. vii. 9B.2. Demosthenes (ix.50) felt that Philip was not "playing cricket" by campaigning in winter. On amateurism, A. E. Zimmern, The Greek Commonwealth[5] (1931) 345-6; the agonal spirit: V. Ehrenberg, Ost und West (1935) ch.4, esp. 69-70.

114. See esp. Ps.-Herodes, Peri Politeias 30-1, with de Ste. Croix, OPW 35n.65; cf. Thuc. vi.17.5.

115. Gernet, op.cit. (n.112) 333-43, esp. 337-8; Detienne 136. For the aristocratic military code, see succinctly Homer, Il.xii.315-6.

116. The locus classicus - suitably Spartan - is Thuc. iv.40.2, explained by Gomme, CQ n.s. iii (1953) 65-8; cf. de Ste. Croix, OPW 359, 371, 372. For kaloikagathoi as hoplites, see n.68. Other passages on arrows: Hdt. ix.72; Plut., Mor. 234E. The sentiment goes back to Homer, Il.xi.385 ff.

117. Gomme, HCT i.14-5 suggests the reasons (social and political as well as economic) for the refusal.

118. Andrewes, op.cit. (n.100)36-8; Forrest, EGD 104-5, 112-4; H. W. Pleket, "The Archaic Tyrannis", Talanta i (1969) 19-61, at 35-6.

119. I agree with Finley, "Sparta" in Vernant, PGGA 149 that the state supplied weapons and armour to citizens as well as helots; the system was presumably introduced when all citizens became hoplites and was then extended to certain helots and ex-helots in the fifth century. I cannot believe that a state to which the supply of armaments was so crucial would have relied on imports from outside Lakonia, even from an ally like Corinth.

120. I do not know why Detienne 140 believes that "Sparta seems to have discovered the new (sc. hoplite) tactic at the time of the First Messenian War".

121. Regardless of Pheidon's role, the broad Argive plain will have encouraged the early establishment of the largest possible force; cf. the aspis Argolikē : E. Kunze, Ol. Forsch. ii (1950) 215-6.

122. Cf. n.9.

123. For his language and ideas, see II. nn.423,425. On the tactics he describes, Greenhalgh 180n.37 is too confident, but his interpretation is in my view correct.

124. III.n.831.

125. For their significance, see III.n.765.

126. Detienne 125.

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